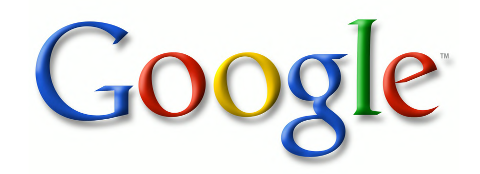


THE STUDENTS' SERIES

OF LATIN CLASSICS

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS

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The Students' Series of Latin Classics

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS

BOOK II

CHAPTERS XLI–CXXXI

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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οὐ πόλλ' ἀλλὰ πολύ

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TO THE MEMORY OF

MY TEACHER

JOHN LARKIN LINCOLN

THIS EDITION OF

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS

IS

GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

PREFACE.

I HAVE selected for this edition the most important part of Velleius Paterculus' work, the portion dealing with the Civil War and the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. It is hoped that this volume may be of service in securing for Velleius the recognition to which he is fairly entitled by his merits as a writer. The wide range which Latin studies have assumed under the influence of the elective system, and the liberal courses at present offered, afford ample opportunity for the reading of an author whose works throw so much light upon one of the most interesting periods in Roman history.

The text is practically that of Halm (Leipsic, 1876). In a few instances, however, I have preferred the readings of other editors. These changes, together with the principal variations of the MSS. and the most important conjectures, are briefly considered in the Critical Appendix.

In the preparation of the notes my aim has been not simply to give needed assistance on grammatical topics, but to point out Velleius' departures from strict classical usage and to note those peculiarities of style which mark his Latinity with the characteristics of the Silver Age; and also to give by statement and reference the historical information requisite for a fuller understanding of the men and times of which he wrote, to

complete, as it were, the pictures which the author has presented only in outline. All available editions have been consulted. The most assistance has been received from those of Ruhnken and Kritz. Dissertations by Scriner, Georges, Fritsch, and others have been very helpful and suggestive.

I take pleasure in acknowledging my great indebtedness to Professor E. M. Pease, the editor-in-chief of this series, for many valuable suggestions in regard to the general plan of the work, and for the conscientious care with which he has read the proof. I am under special obligations to Professor H. T. Peck, of Columbia College, for kindly consenting to read the MS. of the entire work. My thanks are also due to Professor A. G. Hopkins, of Hamilton College, for many useful suggestions and for the careful manner in which he has read the proof of both text and notes.

FRANK E. ROCKWOOD.

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY,
July, 1893.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

Life of Velleius.

The brilliant literary era which began with the prose of Cicero and attained its greatest splendor in the poetry of the Augustan age was followed by a period of marked decline. Lack of scholarly independence and dearth of creative genius, due to the natural reaction from the intellectual life of the preceding age and in part also to the chilling atmosphere of the empire, characterized the reign of Augustus' successor. Although Tiberius possessed excellent literary taste and used the Latin tongue with force and elegance, yet he never became a generous patron of literature. By profession a soldier, and well advanced in years when he was elevated to the throne, he made no attempt to attract authors of talent and men of genius to his court, or to encourage them with imperial favor. He was not, however, unwilling to tolerate those worshipers of Apollo and the Muses who were inclined to accept monarchy as a settled fact, and who were not disposed to arouse in the people a desire for the restoration of the republic. Prominent in this reign, and indeed the natural product of such an age, was the soldier-author, Velleius Paterculus, "the court historian of Tiberius," justly regarded as one of the most successful historical abridgers of all times.

Velleius was descended from a Campanian family of equestrian rank and was born, according to the commonly accepted date, in the year 19 B.C. — the year of Vergil's death. His praenomen is uncertain. The *editio princeps* has Publius; Halm, relying on very doubtful MS. authority, Gaius; while Priscian,

the only ancient writer who alludes to him, calls him Marcus. The place of his birth, his early home, and education are all alike unknown. He tells us, however, that his father was a prefect of horse (II. 104. 3); that his grandfather was a man of recognized worth, *nulli secundus* (II. 76. 1); and that among his ancestors were Minatius Magius, who raised a legion and fought on the side of Rome in the Italian war, and Decius Magius, a leading citizen of Capua and a devoted friend of the Romans in the time of Hannibal (II. 16. 2). His grandfather was the first member of the family, so far as we know, to bear the name of Velleius, and therefore it is inferred that he was adopted into that *gens* from the Magian.

At the age of fourteen Velleius assumed the *toga virilis*, and a few years later commenced his military service. Like Horace, he was probably *tribunus militum* (II. 101. 2, 3) at the very beginning of his career. Unlike the Venusian poet, however, he inherited a martial spirit and a strong love for the stirring life of a soldier. He travelled extensively in the East, in the retinue of C. Caesar, and visited many countries, tribes, and cities. He was present at the meeting, on an island in the Euphrates, of the Roman prince and the Parthian king. Upon his return to Rome, Augustus made him prefect of horse. In this capacity he accompanied Tiberius to Germany, where he served *per annos continuos novem praefectus aut legatus* (II. 104. 3). In this long period he must have won the esteem and confidence of his superior, for he was entrusted with important commands and was given a share in the splendid triumph celebrated in honor of victories over the Germans, Pannonians, and Dalmatians (II. 121. 3). When he had completed his term of service in the cavalry, he was made quaestor, and was treated with the consideration accorded men of senatorial rank (II. 111. 3). In 14 A.D., he and his brother enjoyed the special distinction of being at the same time the last recommended to the praetorship by Augustus and the first by Tiberius. Of his life subsequent to his praetorship we know only that he wrote, or at least completed, his history, 30 A.D. The time and manner of his death are unknown.

Cruttwell thinks that he shared the disgrace of Sejanus, upon whom he had lavished the highest praise (II. 127. 3, 4), and that he was put to death with the friends and supporters of the fallen favorite, 31 A.D. This theory seems plausible, but lacks proof.

Velleius has not told us why he turned his attention to writing, nor do we know what preparation he had for his task as an author. He may have employed the time subsequent to his praetorship in acquiring the general knowledge of history and literature, both Greek and Roman, which he displays in his works. Certain it is that his just estimate of Homer (I. 5) and his vigorous praise and manly defense of Cicero (II. 66. 2–5) are evidence of his literary taste and right appreciation of the best in the realm of letters.

The title of his work, as it has reached us, is, *Historiae Romanae Duo Volumina ad M. Vinicium Cos.;* but this may be the wording of a copyist and not that of the author, for the work itself is only an outline or an abridgment of Roman history. Like Livy, Velleius goes back in his introduction to the times immediately following the Trojan war. Then come in quick succession the changes in Greece, the settlements in the East, the founding of Carthage, the origin of Rome, and the establishment of Grecian colonies in Italy. Of the last he has given the clearest account that we have from any ancient writer. The first book closes with the fall of Carthage and Corinth, 146 B.C. In the second he continues his rapid survey of Roman history, only occasionally checking his swift course when a prominent character or a great event requires more than a passing notice. As he approaches his own period and writes of Caesar and Pompey, of Augustus and Tiberius, his narrative assumes more generous proportions. That he did not deviate in any great degree, however, from his purpose of writing a mere outline, is proved by his own words to that effect (II. 96. 3), and by his allusions to the greater task that he contemplated in the future.

The chief excellence of the work is due to the author's rare skill as a "rhetorical anecdotist and painter of character in action." He was more interested in men than in measures.

While he did not omit important events, he dwelt at much greater length upon the actors in the ever-changing scenes than upon the scenes themselves. He was especially happy in summing up the leading traits and characteristics of the most eminent Romans, notably so in the cases of Pompey (II. 29), Caesar (II. 41), and Brutus (II. 72); and in this way he accomplished the difficult task of making a chronological abridgment interesting.

The credibility of Velleius as a historian has been seriously called in question. The charges made by his critics impeach his trustworthiness as a recorder of events and his truthfulness as an artist, when painting for us a portrait of his old commander, Tiberius. But, while he is not entirely free from fault, he is in no respect so guilty as his detractors claim. In matters of fact, the principal errors with which he can be justly charged pertain to dates. He occasionally followed the Catonian era instead of the Varronian, and in some instances deviated from both. With this exception, he conformed to the prevalent traditions in his statement of the leading points in Roman history. It is true that his studies were not very thorough; but then he did not claim to be an original investigator. He was not a historian in the modern acceptation of the term, nor in the sense that Sallust, Tacitus, and Livy were. He sought only to write a readable abridgment, an entertaining outline, and in doing this he relied upon the most convenient authorities. In the first part of his work he followed the Chronicles of Nepos; from the founding of Rome to the time of Augustus, the Annals of Atticus; in the closing portion he related what he had himself seen and heard. He was familiar with the writings of Cicero, Livy, Pompeius Trogus, and Sallust, and throughout his entire history there is clear evidence that he drew from these sources whenever it suited his purpose. The only authorities that he specifically mentions are Cato (I. 7. 3) and Hortensius (II. 16. 3).

His praise of Tiberius is not mere flattery or fulsome adulation. A careful examination of the facts will show many just grounds for his high opinion of the emperor. It can no longer

be held that Tiberius was a relentless tyrant and a monster of iniquity from the beginning to the end of his career. In the first fifteen years of his reign, during which time even Tacitus concedes him an outward show of virtue, he proved himself a wise ruler, careful in the management of the public revenues, anxious to maintain a just and beneficent government both in Rome and in the provinces. Velleius was not a willful falsifier in his pen-picture of the brave soldier and skillful leader, in whose army he had served with such marked distinction. His glowing eulogy was due in part to the plan of his work, which only permitted brief mention of leading points; in part to his genuine devotion to his commander, — a devotion that made it easy for him to forget the bad and emphasize the good; in part to the fact that he wrote before the death of Sejanus, before the emperor, old, disappointed, and deceived, had been guilty of the vice and cruelty that disgraced his closing days.

II.

Language and Style.

Velleius belongs to that age whose "strange alchemy transmuted the gold of the language into silver." We find none of the great names of Roman literature among his immediate contemporaries. He was scarcely more than ten years old when Horace died. He had hardly commenced to prepare himself for literary work when Livy had already reached the end of his long and studious life. He was still a soldier in Germany while the exiled Ovid was writing his mournful letters from Tomi. He may possibly have heard Seneca pleading in the courts, but he did not live to see the eloquent advocate gain distinction in the literary and philosophical world. He was separated from Juvenal, Quintilian, Tacitus, and Pliny by a still longer interval of time.

Velleius took as his model Sallust, the first Roman historian worthy of the name. He sometimes imitated Cicero and occa-

sionally, perhaps, Livy; but the latter was too diffuse, and, it may be, too fond of praising the old republic for an abridger and an ardent imperialist to pattern after.

His faults are, in general, those of the period in which he wrote. The influence of the empire was as apparent in literature as in the life of the people. As men played parts, so authors wrote to please. Artificiality seemed to be the characteristic of the time. Aiming at effect, writers made free use of poetical expressions and oratorical exaggeration, evidently thinking that naturalness and simplicity had lost their power to charm the degenerate Romans. Velleius stood almost at the very point where the Golden Age reached its limit and the new era commenced. But the process of deterioration had been going on gradually for a long time; and so while his vocabulary is for the most part classical, his Latinity is marked by the characteristic features of the Silver Age. He indulges freely in hyperbole, not for the purpose of deceiving, but to attract the reader's attention. His work abounds in flashes of wit, startling turns of thought, and striking comparisons. Occasionally he robs his language of its natural force by repeating the same thought in new words, merely for the sake of embellishing his story. He fully appreciated a plain, direct style, and yet yielded to the temptation to write in the fashion of his day. At times he shows the spirit and vigor of an orator, and seems to be addressing an audience rather than presenting to his readers the simple facts of history. He employs questions, exclamations, asyndeton, even apostrophe; and has recourse to many of the devices which public speakers use to arouse and interest their hearers. This feature of his composition is due to his inclination to eulogize, to his desire to present vivid pictures of his favorites. Just as Livy again and again reveals the orator underneath the historian, so, at times, we might think that Velleius had been a rhetorician or an advocate in his early manhood, and not a plain soldier, inured to the hardships of war and camp life. As a natural consequence of this forensic tendency, his language is often tinged with poetic coloring. He aims at

word effects, and seeks to make his thoughts attractive by decking them out in gay plumage. And yet he did not carry these features so far as some of the later writers of the Silver Age. It can hardly be said of him as Macaulay said of Tacitus: "He stimulates till stimulants lose their power."

Velleius wrote with nervous rapidity. He hurries his reader on at a quick pace and causes him to feel at times the mental excitement which the author himself experienced, when crowding momentous events and long stretches of time into a few brief sentences. The plan of his history and the limits he set for himself forced him to adopt this method. His own words, "in this hasty composition, which, like a wheel, or a swift-whirling torrent, nowhere permits me to stop" (I. 16. 1), show how clearly he realized the fact. Many of his faults in style and some of his errors in subject-matter are undoubtedly due to this haste, *festinatio*, which is so strikingly prominent in his entire work.

But it must not be supposed that Velleius' style is in all respects defective. His Latin has been praised by many of the most critical scholars. Ruhnken thinks it "graceful and well chosen"; Muretus says his history is "tersely and elegantly" written; while Sauppe asserts that his language is "pure and flowing, with all the faults and excellences of the style of that time." His writing is idiomatic and, for the most part, forceful and clear; though it often lacks the smoothness and elegance of the Ciceronian period. As the first historian, in point of time, in the Silver Age, he forms an important link in the chain binding that epoch to the preceding. He is of special interest to all who would trace completely the growth, development, and decline of Latin prose. For the general reader his work has the same merit that Cicero found in the Annals of his friend Atticus: *Ille vero et nova, mihi quidem multa et eam utilitatem, quam requirebam, ut explicatis ordinibus temporum uno in conspectu omnia viderem* (Brut. 4. 15). Aside from the general characteristics of an author's style, there are certain special features, such as his fondness for different classes of nouns and

verbs, his use of cases and moods, his arrangement of words, and his choice of figures of syntax and rhetoric, which give him individuality as a writer. Through the labors of Ruhnken, Kritz, Krause, Koch, Lange, Georges, and others, Velleius' Latin has been pretty thoroughly dissected and its peculiarities carefully labeled. The most prominent of these special characteristics are briefly summarized and illustrated in the following outline: —

I. Nouns. (*a*) Occasional use of abstract for concrete: e.g., *custodiis* for *custodibus* 88. 2; *mediocritatis* for *viri mediocris* 104. 3. In 58. 2 the abstract *coniurationis* is used in the singular for the plural concrete. (*b*) Frequent use of abstracts in the plural: e.g., *aetatium* 89. 1; *expugnationibus* 98. 2; *solitudines* 55. 4. (*c*) Fondness for verbals in *-io*: e.g., *accessione* 130. 5; *adsentatione* 128. 3 (see note); *consummatione* 116. 4; *patratione* 98. 2 (see note). (*d*) And nouns of agency in *-sor* and *-tor*: e.g., *executor* 45. 1; *proditor* 83. 1; *suasore* 44. 4; *violator* 100. 4 (not in Caes. or Cic.). (*e*) Also verbals in *-us*, generally in the abl. sing.: e.g., *auctu* 129. 4; *ductu* (most frequent) 78. 1; *permissu* 107. 2.

II. Cases. 1. Genitive. (*a*) Possessive used predicatively: e.g., *nullius nisi dei fuerit* 47. 1; *sui iuris fecerat* 69. 2. (*b*) Frequent and varied use of the appositional genitive: e.g., *Iuliorum familia* 41. 1; *calamitatem exilii* 45. 2; also with perf. part.: e.g., *promissae brevitatis fides* 55. 1; *hereditatem occisi exercitus* 120. 3. (*c*) Partitives worthy of special notice are: *per avia itinerum* 75. 3; *in id furoris* 80. 2; *aliis veteribus Romanorum ducum* 80. 3. The place of the partitive gen. is sometimes supplied by a distributive apposition: e.g., *Drusus Livius . . . et Varus Quintilius . . . alter se ipse . . . interemit* 71. 3. (*d*) Genitive of quality (frequent): e.g., *quattuor scalmorum navem* 43. 1; *plus quinque mensium quies* 56. 3; *M. Agrippa, virtutis nobilissimae* 79. 1. (*e*) Free use with adjectives: e.g., *inops copiarum* 111. 4; *insolens paris* 110. 2. See on *consilii* 63. 2 and *incrementi* 109. 4. In 1. 3. 1 he has *acer belli iuvenis*, not found before his time.

2. Dative. (*a*) Often used with compound verbs with which

the best writers generally employ a preposition and its case: e.g., *ripae adpulsus est* 107. 2; but *Cyprum adpulsus* I. 1. 1; *exercitumque operi praeparabat* instead of *ad* c. accus. 109. 2; *discrimini me subtraham* instead of *ab* c. abl. 86. 3. (*b*) The dative with adjectives is used more freely than in earlier writers: e.g., *diversa iis* 80. 2; *armis habilia* 110. 3; *puero quam iuveni propior* 53. 1; *nulli secundus* (poetic and post-Aug.) 76. 1; *Curioni simillimus* 68. 1. (*c*) Dative of reference: e.g., *imperio nostro ac suo quaerens* 46. 1; *cui . . . duravit* 79. 6; *iusto servemus operi* 99. 3. (*d*) Of purpose or end, most frequently with *esse:* e.g., *hoc M. Antonio ac tot illis legionibus saluti fuit* 82. 3; *ut pariter iis terrori venerationique esset* 41. 3; see on *praesidium esse* 110. 4; *natum mendacio genus* 118. 1.

3. Accusative. (*a*) Adverbial: e.g., *cetera sanctissimus* 46. 2; *multum . . . eo . . . recusante* 103. 3. (*b*) In apposition with a clause: e.g., *dum ea geruntur Cassius Rhodum, rem inmanis operis, ceperat* 69. 6; *rem* 130. 2. (*c*) Cognate: e.g., *Glaucum saltasset* 83. 2 (see note). (*d*) Greek accusative: e.g., *indutus habitum* 41. 2 (but see note); *caputque redimitus* 83. 2.

4. Ablative. (*a*) Absolute with *quasi, veluti,* or *velut;* see note on 100. 5. (*b*) Freer use with adjectives than is found in the best writers: e.g., *studiis rudis, sermone barbarus, impetu strenuus, manu promptus, cogitatione celer* 73. 1. (*c*) The ablative of comparison is occasionally used instead of a clause: e.g., *expectato maturius* 123. 1. (*d*) Ablative often used to denote duration of time: e.g., *maiore parte anni* 44. 5 (see note); *triennio* 98. 2; *prima parte introitus* 102. 2. (*e*) Ablative of separation used with many verbs, both simple and compound, where a preposition is employed by earlier writers: e.g., *descenderet equo* 55. 3; *natura excedendum* 68. 5; *spectaculo pelleretur* 79. 6; *quae excita sedibus suis* 108. 1.

III. Adjectives and Participles. (*a*) Special fondness for superlatives: e.g., *adfectissimi* 84. 1 (see note); *caelestissimorum* 104. 3; *eminentissima* 101. 2; *honorificentissimo* 45. 4; *mixtissimos* 98. 3 (see note). (*b*) Neuters used substantively with a preposition, the phrase having an abverbial force (found in the best

writers, but more common from the time of Livy): e.g., *in adversis* 53. 2; *in incerto est* 97. 2; *in ultimum erupit* 125. 2; also with comparatives: e.g., *inclinatae in deterius* 123. 1. (*c*) Adjective in agreement with a substantive instead of a genitive depending upon it; see note on *principalium* 50. 3. (*d*) Frequent use of neuter plural adjective and participle as substantive: e.g., *ancipitia, perniciosa* 125. 4; *audita* 92. 5; *male consultorum* 88. 3; *ulteriora* 105. 1.

IV. Verbs. (*a*) Simple for compound: e.g., *bellum quod ciebat* for *conciebat* 54. 2; *otio ac mollitiis fluens* for *diffluens* 88. 2; *Rapuisti tu M. Ciceroni lucem* for *Eripuisti* 66. 4. (*b*) Frequent use of intensive and iterative verbs, a feature of his oratorical style: e.g., *dictitans* 58. 2 and 60. 2; *pollicitati* 111. 1; *venditans* 63. 3. (*c*) Occasional use of reflexives: e.g., *se rapuisset* 85. 6; *se miscuisset* 86. 3. (*d*) Medial passive: e.g., *ripae suorum adpulsus est* 107. 2; *genibus eius advolutus est* 80. 4. (*e*) Intransitives often used impersonally in the passive: e.g., *certatum est* 90. 2; *saeviretur* 120. 6; *trepidatum (est)* 112. 5; *Venitur ad tempus* 123. 1. (*f*) Occasional use of *forem* for *essem*: e.g., *accersendus foret* 123. 1; *deserturi forent* 55. 3; *eversi forent* 115. 4; *pariturus foret* 90. 3.

V. Moods. (*a*) Subjunctive with *simul, ubi*: e.g., *simul revertisset* 88. 1; *ubi exigeret* 88. 2. (*b*) Frequent use of infinitive with adjectives: e.g., *contentus retinere* 49. 4; *Longum est narrare* 42. 1; *tutum relinquere* 110. 3. (*c*) Fondness for infinitive, with or without subject accusative, with verbs: e.g., *retinere conati* 46. 3; *mihi visere contigit* 101. 2; *festinans pervenire* 59. 5; *iussissetque nuntiare* 70. 2; *petere proposuit* 53. 1; *se facturum negasset* 42. 3; *speculatus neminem opprimi* 118. 2.

VI. Adverbs. *Adhuc* with reference to the past, *adhuc Gaio vivo facere voluerat* 103. 2. *Hodieque* for *hodie quoque* 61. 3; 81. 2; 98. 1. *Longe* for *multo* to strengthen the comparative, 45. 5; 51. 3; 74. 1; 79. 3; 81. 2. *Nunc . . . nunc* for *modo . . . modo*, 62. 3; 79. 5; 98. 2; 118. 1; 119. 2. *Tam* used absolutely, 45. 1; 82. 1; 110. 3, 5.

VII. Figures of syntax and rhetoric. Anaphora: e.g., *quo*



. . . *quo, quae . . . quae* 89. 1; *iam . . . iam . . . iam* 114. 2. Apostrophe; e.g., *Nihil tamen egisti, M. Antoni* 66. 3. Asyndeton (frequent): e.g., *Tum refulsit . . . tranquillitatis* 103. 5. Chiasmus: e.g., *Vita . . . dignitas* 80. 4. Ellipsis: of *eo* in *quo notiora sunt, minus egent stilo* 43. 4; of *tanto* before *quanto* in *Fuit autem dux Cassius melior quanto vir Brutus* 72. 2. Litotes: e.g., *non incruentis* 112. 6. Pleonasm: e.g., *prisca antiquaque* 125. 4. Polysyndeton: e.g., 83. 2. Synesis: *uterque* with plural verb, 63. 3; 66. 1; 95. 2. Zeugma (rare): e.g., *milites optimi imperatoris, imperatorem fugacissimi militis functum officio* 85. 5.

VIII. Oratorical and poetic style. Velleius shows special fondness for the oratorical style, notably in chapters 66 and 131. He occasionally employs poetic expressions; see on *facem* 48. 3.

IX. Order and arrangement. (*a*) Inversion of proper names: e.g., *Pollio Asinius* 73. 2; *Druso Claudio* 97. 2. See note on 43. 4. (*b*) Attributive order: e.g., *crebris in Illyrico Delmatiaque expeditionibus* 78. 2; *multiplices eo bello victorias* 96. 3. (*c*) Tendency to place the verb at or near the beginning of the sentence: e.g., *Acciverat* 80. 1; *Sensit* 100. 1; *Nihil erat* 108. 1. (*d*) Fondness for closing the sentence with a substantive: e.g., *Antonius* 64. 4; *scientiam* 79. 2; *victoria* 84. 1; *militem* 111. 1; *animus* 114. 1; *Tiberius* 124. 4. Tacitus shows a like fondness for placing the verb at or near the beginning of the sentence, and the subject, or another noun, at the close. Draeger, Syn. u. Stil d. Tac., p. 90. (*e*) Long sentences with numerous adjective and appositional expressions, relative and parenthetical clauses: e.g., 75. 3; 83. 1, 2; 94. 1, 2, 3; 98. 1, 2.

III.

The Text.

In 1515 Beatus Rhenanus found the single MS. through which the text of Velleius has come down to us, in the library of the Benedictine monastery at Murbach in Upper Alsace. It was mutilated at the beginning and at the end. In addition

to numerous smaller lacunae, almost the whole of the first book was missing — causing a break in the narrative from "the rape of the Sabines" to the war with King Perseus of Macedonia. The age of the Murbach codex cannot now be determined. It has been assigned with some degree of positiveness to the tenth century, but earlier and later dates have also been suggested. It was written in minuscules on parchment. The latter had been much injured by age, and the text was evidently very corrupt. Rhenanus said of it: "The MS. was full of errors. Everything in it was in confusion. I verily believe the copyist did not understand a single word."

After waiting in vain in the hope of finding another MS. (for it had been reported that there was one at Milan), Rhenanus published the *editio princeps* at Basel in 1520; not from the MS. itself, however, but from a copy of it which a friend had made for him. Albert Burer, the amanuensis of Rhenanus, collated the *editio princeps* and the Murbach codex, and placed the results of his work in an appendix to the former. Soon afterwards the Murbach codex itself disappeared.

Before the *editio princeps* was published, Boniface Amerbach, pupil of Rhenanus, made a copy of Velleius' history for his own use. In doing this he was not allowed to use the Murbach codex itself, but only the copy which Rhenanus' friend had made. In 1830, Orelli found the copy made by Amerbach in the public library of Basel.

The following symbols are employed in discussing the text: —

A — apographum Amerbachii.
M — codex Murbacensis ex collatione Burerii.
P — editio princeps Basileensis.

Many editions of Velleius have been published with copious notes containing the results of much laborious study of the text, diction, and subject-matter. The following are the most important: —

J. N. Schegkius, Frankfort, 1589.
V. Acidalius, Padua, 1590.

J. Lipsius, Leyden, 1591; Antwerp, 1607.
J. Gruter, Frankfort, 1607.
R. Riguez (Delphini), Paris, 1675.
N. Heinsius, Amsterdam, 1678.
P. Burmann, Leyden, 1719; 2 vols. 1744.
D. Ruhnken, 2 vols. Leyden, 1779; Leipsic, 1830–9.
J. C. H. Krause, Leipsic, 1800.
N. E. Lemaire, Paris, 1822.
J. C. Orelli, Leipsic, 1835.
F. Kritz, Leipsic, 1840.
Text editions by Haase and Halm, Leipsic, 1863 and 1875.

SUMMARY.

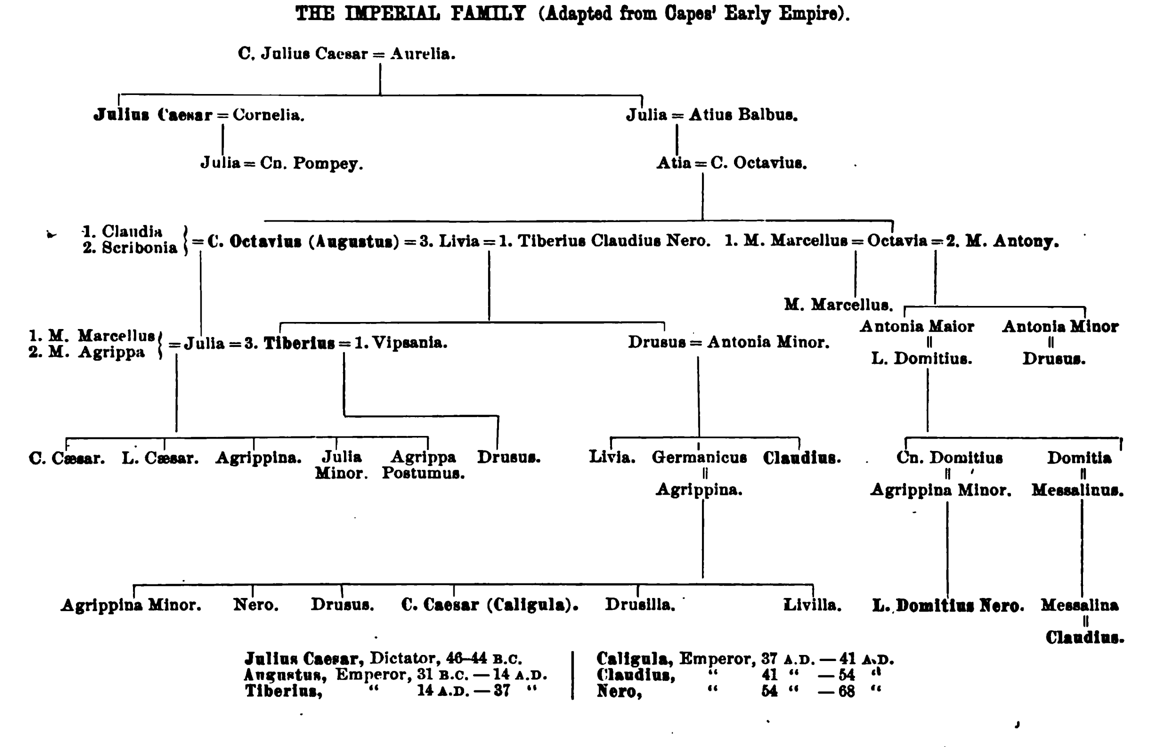
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THE IMPERIAL FAMILY (Adapted from Capes' Early Empire).



Julius Caesar, Dictator, 46–44 B.C.	**Caligula,** Emperor, 37 A.D. — 41 A.D.
Augustus, Emperor, 31 B.C. — 14 A.D.	**Claudius,** " 41 " — 54 "
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VELLEI PATERCULI

HISTORIA ROMANA

AD M. VINICIUM COS.

LIBER POSTERIOR.

Cap. XLI.—CXXXI.

Secutus deinde est consulatus C. Caesaris, qui scri- 41
benti manum iniicit et quamlibet festinantem in se morari cogit. Hic nobilissima Iuliorum genitus familia et, quod inter omnis antiquitatis peritos constabat, ab Anchise ac Venere deducens genus, forma omnium civium excellentissimus, vigore animi acerrimus, munificentia effusissimus, animo super humanam et naturam et fidem evectus, magnitudine cogitationum, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum Magno illi
Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo simillimus, qui 2
denique semper et cibo et somno in vitam, non in voluptatem uteretur, cum fuisset C. Mario sanguine coniunctissimus atque idem Cinnae gener, cuius filiam ut repudiaret nullo metu compelli potuit, cum M. Piso consularis Anniam, quae Cinnae uxor fuerat, in Sullae dimisisset gratiam, habuissetque fere duodeviginti annos eo tempore, quo Sulla rerum potitus est, magis ministris Sullae adiutoribusque partium quam ipso conquirentibus eum ad necem mutata veste dissimi-

lemque fortunae suae indutus habitum nocte urbe
3 elapsus est. Idem postea admodum iuvenis, cum a
piratis captus esset, ita se per omne spatium, quo ab
iis retentus est, apud eos gessit, ut pariter iis terrori
venerationique esset, neque umquam aut nocte aut die
(cur enim quod vel maximum est, si narrari verbis
speciosis non potest, omittatur?) aut excalcearetur
aut discingeretur, in hoc scilicet, ne si quando aliquid
ex solito variaret, suspectus iis, qui oculis tantum-
modo eum custodiebant, foret.

42 Longum est narrare, quid et quotiens ausus sit,
quanto opere conata eius qui obtinebat Asiam magi-
stratus populi Romani metu suo destituerit: illud
2 referatur documentum tanti mox evasuri viri. Quae
nox eam diem secuta est, qua publica civitatium pecu-
nia redemptus est, ita tamen, ut cogeret ante obsides
a piratis civitatibus dari, contracta classe et privatus
et tumultuaria *manu* invectus in eum locum, in quo
ipsi praedones erant, partem classis fugavit, partem
3 mersit, aliquot navis multosque mortalis cepit; lae-
tusque nocturnae expeditionis triumpho ad suos re-
vectus est, mandatisque custodiae quos ceperat, in
Bithyniam perrexit ad proconsulem Iunium (is enim
cum Asia eam quoque obtinebat) petens, ut auctor
fieret sumendi de captivis supplicii: quod cum ille se
facturum negasset venditurumque captivos dixisset
(quippe sequebatur invidia inertiam), incredibili ce-
leritate revectus ad mare, priusquam de ea re ulli
proconsulis redderentur epistulae, omnes, quos ceperat,
suffixit cruci.

43 Idem mox ad sacerdotium ineundum (quippe absens
pontifex factus erat in Cottae consularis locum, *cum*

paene puer a Mario Cinnaque flamen dialis creatus victoria Sullae, qui omnia ab iis acta fecerat irrita, amisisset id sacerdotium) festinans in Italiam, ne conspiceretur a praedonibus omnia tunc obtinentibus maria et merito iam infestis sibi, quattuor scalmorum navem una cum duobus amicis decemque servis ingressus effusissimum Adriatici maris traiecit sinum. Quo 2
quidem in cursu conspectis, ut putabat, piratarum navibus cum exuisset vestem alligassetque pugionem ad femur alterutri se fortunae parans, mox intellexit frustratum esse visum suum arborumque ex longinquo ordinem antemnarum praebuisse imaginem. Reliqua 3
eius acta in urbe, nobilissima Cn. Dolabellae accusatio et maior civitatis in ea favor, quam reis praestari solet, contentionesque civiles cum Q. Catulo atque aliis eminentissimis viris celeberrimae, et ante praeturam victus *in* maximi pontificatus petitione Q. Catulus, omnium confessione senatus princeps, et restituta in 4
aedilitate adversante quidem nobilitate monumenta C. Marii, simulque revocati ad ius dignitatis proscriptorum liberi, et praetura quaesturaque mirabili virtute atque industria obita in Hispania, (cum esset quaestor sub Vetere Antistio, avo huius Veteris consularis atque pontificis, duorum consularium et sacerdotum patris, viri in tantum boni, in quantum humana simplicitas intellegi potest) quo notiora sunt, minus egent stilo.

Hoc igitur consule inter eum et Cn. Pompeium et **44**
M. Crassum inita potentiae societas, quae urbi orbique terrarum nec minus diverso cuique tempore ipsis exitiabilis fuit. Hoc consilium sequendi Pompeius causam 2
habuerat, ut tandem acta in transmarinis provinciis, quibus, ut praediximus, multi obtrectabant, per Cae-

sarem confirmarentur consulem, Caesar autem, quod
animadvertebat se cedendo Pompei gloriae aucturum
suam et invidia communis potentiae in illum relegata
confirmaturum vires suas, Crassus, ut quem principa-
tum solus adsequi non poterat, auctoritate Pompei,
3 viribus teneret Caesaris. Adfinitas etiam inter Caesa-
rem Pompeiumque contracta nuptiis, quippe *Iuliam*,
4 filiam C. Caesaris, Cn. Magnus duxit uxorem. In hoc
consulatu Caesar legem tulit, ut ager Campanus plebei
divideretur, suasore legis Pompeio: ita circiter viginti
milia civium eo deducta et ius urbis restitutum post
annos circiter centum quinquaginta duos quam bello
Punico ab Romanis Capua in formam praefecturae re-
5 dacta erat. Bibulus, collega Caesaris, cum actiones
eius magis vellet impedire quam posset, maiore parte
anni domi se tenuit: quo facto dum augere vult invi-
diam collegae, auxit potentiam. Tum Caesari decretae
in quinquennium Galliae.

45 Per idem tempus P. Clodius, homo nobilis, disertus,
audax, quique *neque* dicendi neque faciendi ullum
nisi quem vellet nosset modum, malorum proposito-
rum executor acerrimus, infamis etiam sororis stupro
et actus incesti reus ob initum inter religiosissima
populi Romani sacra adulterium, cum graves inimici-
tias cum M. Cicerone exerceret (quid enim inter tam
dissimiles amicum esse poterat?) et a patribus ad
plebem transisset, legem in tribunatu tulit, qui civem
Romanum indemnatum interemisset, ut ei aqua et igni
interdiceretur: cuius verbis etsi non nominabatur
2 Cicero, tamen solus petebatur. Ita vir optime meri-
tus de re publica conservatae patriae pretium calami-
tatem exilii tulit. Non caruerunt suspicione oppressi

Ciceronis Caesar et Pompeius. Hoc sibi contraxisse
videbatur Cicero, quod inter viginti viros dividendo
agro Campano esse noluisset. Idem intra biennium 3
sera Cn. Pompei cura, verum ut coepit intenta,
votisque Italiae ac decretis senatus, virtute atque
actione Annii Milonis tribuni plebis dignitati patriae-
que restitutus est. Neque post Numidici exilium aut
reditum quisquam aut expulsus invidiosius aut recep-
tus est laetius: cuius domus quam infeste a Clodio
disiecta erat, tam speciose a senatu restituta est.
Idem P. Clodius in tribunatu sub honorificentissimo 4
ministerii titulo M. Catonem a re publica relegavit:
quippe legem tulit, ut is quaestor cum iure praetorio
adiecto etiam quaestore mitteretur in insulam Cyprum
ad spoliandum regno Ptolemaeum, omnibus morum
vitiis eam contumeliam meritum. Sed ille sub adven- 5
tum Catonis vitae suae vim intulit. Unde pecuniam
longe sperata maiorem Cato Romam retulit: cuius
integritatem laudari nefas est, insolentia paene argui
potest, quod una cum consulibus ac senatu effusa civi-
tate obviam, cum per Tiberim subiret navibus, non
ante iis egressus est, quam ad eum locum pervenit, ubi
erat exponenda pecunia.

Cum deinde immanis res vix multis voluminibus **46**
explicandas C. Caesar in Gallia ageret nec contentus
plurimis ac felicissimis victoriis innumerabilibusque
caesis et captis hostium milibus etiam in Britanniam
traiecisset exercitum, alterum paene imperio nostro ac
suo quaerens orbem, vetus par consulum, Cn. Pompeius
et M. Crassus, alterum iniere consulatum, qui neque
petitus honeste ab iis neque probabiliter gestus est.
Caesari lege, quam Pompeius ad populum tulit, proro- 2

gatae in idem spatium temporis provinciae, Crasso bel-
lum Parthicum iam animo molienti Syria decreta: qui
vir cetera sanctissimus immunisque voluptatibus neque
in pecunia neque in gloria concupiscenda aut modum
3 norat aut capiebat terminum. Hunc proficiscentem
in Syriam diris cum ominibus tribuni plebis frustra
retinere conati: quorum execrationes si in ipsum tan-
tummodo valuissent, vile imperatoris damnum salvo
4 exercitu fuisset rei publicae. Transgressum Euphra-
ten Crassum petentemque Seleuciam circumfusus in-
manibus copiis equitum rex Orodes una cum parte
maiore Romani exercitus interemit. Reliquias legio-
num C. Cassius, atrocissimi mox auctor facinoris, tum
quaestor, conservavit Syriamque adeo in populi Romani
potestate retinuit, ut transgressos in eam Parthos felici
rerum eventu fugaret ac funderet.

47 Per haec insequentiaque et quae praediximus tempora
amplius quadringenta milia hostium a C. Caesare caesa
sunt, plura capta; pugnatum saepe derecta acie, saepe
[in] agminibus, saepe eruptionibus, bis penetrata Bri-
tannia, novem denique aestatibus vix ulla non iustissi-
mus triumphus emeritus. Circa Alesiam vero tantae
res gestae, quantas audere vix hominis, perficere paene
2 nullius nisi dei fuerit. Quarto ferme anno Caesar
morabatur in Galliis, cum medium iam ex invidia
potentiae male cohaerentis inter Cn. Pompeium et C.
Caesarem concordiae pignus Iulia, uxor Magni, deces-
sit: atque omnia inter destinatos tanto discrimini
duces dirimente fortuna filius quoque parvus Pompei,
3 Iulia natus, intra breve spatium obiit. Tum in gladios
caedesque civium furente ambitu, cuius neque finis
reperiebatur nec modus, tertius consulatus soli Cn.

Pompeio etiam adversantium antea dignitati eius iudi-
cio delatus est, cuius ille honoris gloria veluti recon-
ciliatis sibi optimatibus maxime a C. Caesare alienatus
est; sed eius consulatus omnem vim in coërcitione
ambitus exercuit. Quo tempore P. Clodius a Milone 4
candidato consulatus exemplo inutili, sed facto salutari
rei publicae circa Bovillas contracta ex occursu rixa
iugulatus est. Milonem reum non magis invidia facti
quam Pompei damnavit voluntas; quem quidem M. 5
Cato palam lata absolvit sententia: qui si maturius
tulisset, non defuissent qui sequerentur exemplum
probarentque eum civem occisum, quo nemo pernicio-
sior rei publicae neque bonis inimicior vixerat.

Intra breve deinde spatium belli civilis exarserunt **48**
initia, cum iustissimus quisque et a Caesare et a Pom-
peio vellet dimitti exercitus; quippe Pompeius in se-
cundo consulatu Hispanias sibi decerni voluerat easque
per triennium absens ipse ac praesidens urbi per Afra-
nium et Petreium, consularem ac praetorium, legatos
suos, administrabat et iis, qui a Caesare dimittendos
exercitus contendebant, adsentabatur, iis, qui ab ipso
quoque, adversabatur. Qui si ante biennium, quam ad 2
arma itum est, perfectis muneribus theatri et aliorum
operum, quae ei circumdedit, gravissima temptatus
valetudine decessisset in Campania, (quo quidem tem-
pore universa Italia vota pro salute eius primi omnium
civium suscepit) defuisset fortunae destruendi eius
locus et, quam apud superos habuerat magnitudinem,
inlibatam detulisset ad inferos. Bello autem civili et 3
tot, quae deinde per continuos viginti annos consecuta
sunt, malis non alius maiorem flagrantioremque quam
C. Curio tribunus plebis subiecit facem, vir nobilis, elo-

quens, audax, suae alienaeque et fortunae et pudicitiae prodigus, homo ingeniosissime nequam et facundus
4 malo publico, cuius animo [voluptatibus vel libidinibus] neque opes ullae neque cupiditates sufficere possent. Hic primo pro Pompei partibus, id est, ut tunc habebatur, pro re publica, mox simulatione contra Pompeium et Caesarem, sed animo pro Caesare stetit. Id gratis an accepto centies sestertio fecerit, ut accepi-
5 mus, in medio relinquemus. Ad ultimum saluberrimas [et] coalescentis condiciones pacis, quas et Caesar iustissimo animo postulabat et Pompeius aequo recipiebat, discussit ac rupit, unice cavente Cicerone concordiae publicae. Harum praeteritarumque rerum ordo cum iustis aliorum voluminibus promatur, tum,
6 uti spero, nostris explicabitur. Nunc proposito operi sua forma reddatur, si prius gratulatus ero Q. Catulo, duobus Lucullis Metelloque et Hortensio, qui, cum sine invidia in re publica floruissent eminuissentque sine periculo, quieta aut certe non praecipitata fatali ante initium bellorum civilium morte functi sunt.

49 Lentulo et Marcello consulibus post urbem conditam annis septingentis et tribus, ante annos octo et septuaginta, quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires, bellum
2 civile exarsit. Alterius ducis causa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior: hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia: Pompeium senatus auctoritas, Caesarem militum armavit fiducia. Consules senatusque causae nomine
3 Pompeio summam imperii detulerunt. Nihil relictum a Caesare, quod servandae pacis causa temptari posset, nihil receptum a Pompeianis, cum alter consul iusto esset ferocior, Lentulus vero salva re publica salvus esse non posset, M. autem Cato moriendum ante,

quam ullam condicionem civis accipiendam rei pu-
blicae contenderet. Vir antiquus et gravis Pompei
partes laudaret magis, prudens sequeretur Caesaris et
illa gloriosiora, haec terribiliora duceret. Ut deinde 4
spretis omnibus quae Caesar postulaverat, tantum-
modo contentus cum una legione titulum retinere
provinciae, privatus in urbem veniret et se in peti-
tione consulatus suffragiis populi Romani committeret
decrevere, ratus bellandum Caesar cum exercitu Rubi-
conem transiit. Cn. Pompeius consulesque et maior
pars senatus relicta urbe ac deinde Italia transmisere
Dyrrachium.

At Caesar Domitio legionibusque, *quae* Corfini una **50**
cum eo fuerant, potitus, duce aliisque, qui voluerant
abire ad Pompeium, sine dilatione dimissis, persecutus
Brundusium, ita ut appareret malle integris rebus [et]
condicionibus finire bellum quam opprimere fugientis,
cum transgressos reperisset consules, in urbem revertit 2
redditaque ratione consiliorum suorum in senatu et
in contione ac miserrimae necessitudinis, cum alienis
armis ad arma compulsus esset, Hispanias petere de-
crevit. Festinationem itineris eius aliquamdiu morata 3
Massilia est, fide melior quam consilio prudentior,
intempestive principalium armorum arbitria captans,
quibus hi se debent interponere, qui non parentem
coërcere possunt. Exercitus deinde, qui sub Afranio 4
consulari ac Petreio praetorio fuerat, ipsius adventus
vigore ac fulgore occupatus se Caesari tradidit; uter-
que legatorum et quisquis cuiusque ordinis sequi eos
voluerat, remissi ad Pompeium.

Proximo anno cum Dyrrachium ac vicina ei urbi **51**
regio castris Pompei obtineretur, qui accitis ex omni-

bus transmarinis provinciis legionibus, equitum ac
peditum auxiliis, regumque et tetrarcharum simulque
dynastarum copiis inmanem exercitum confecerat et
mare praesidiis classium, ut rebatur, saepserat, quo
2 minus Caesar legiones posset transmittere, sua et
celeritate et fortuna C. Caesar usus nihil in mora
habuit, quo minus eo quo vellet ipse exercitusque
classibus perveniret, et primo paene castris Pompei
sua iungeret, mox etiam obsidione munimentisque eum
complecteretur. Sed inopia obsidentibus quam obses-
3 sis erat gravior. Tum Balbus Cornelius excedente
humanam fidem temeritate ingressus castra hostium
saepiusque cum Lentulo conlocutus consule, dubitante
quanti se venderet, illis incrementis fecit viam, quibus
non *in* Hispania ex cive natus, sed Hispanus, in tri-
umphum et pontificatum adsurgeret fieretque ex pri-
vato consularis. Variatum deinde proeliis, sed uno
longe magis Pompeianis prospero, quo graviter impulsi
sunt Caesaris milites.

52 Tum Caesar cum exercitu fatalem victoriae suae
2 Thessaliam petiit. Pompeius, longe diversa aliis sua-
dentibus, quorum plerique hortabantur, ut in Italiam
transmitteret (neque hercules quidquam partibus illis
salubrius fuit), alii, ut bellum traheret, quod digna-
tione partium in dies ipsis magis prosperum fieret,
3 usus impetu suo hostem secutus est. Aciem Pharsali-
cam et illum cruentissimum Romano nomini diem
tantumque utriusque exercitus profusum sanguinis et
conlisa inter se duo rei publicae capita effossumque
alterum Romani imperii lumen *et* tot talesque Pom-
peianarum partium caesos viros non recipit enarranda
4 hic scripturae modus. Illud notandum est: ut primum

C. Caesar inclinatam vidit Pompeianorum aciem, neque
prius neque antiquius quidquam habuit, quam *ut* in
omnes partes, ut militari verbo ex consuetudine utar,
dimitteret. . . . Pro dii immortales, quod huius volun- 5
tatis erga Brutum suae postea vir tam mitis pretium
tulit! Nihil *in* illa victoria mirabilius, magnificentius, 6
clarius fuit, quam quod neminem nisi acie consumptum
civem patria desideravit: sed munus misericordiae cor-
rupit pertinacia, cum libentius vitam victor iam daret,
quam victi acciperent.

Pompeius profugiens cum duobus Lentulis consulari- **53**
bus Sextoque filio et Favonio praetorio, quos comites
ei fortuna adgregaverat, aliis, ut Parthos, aliis, ut
Africam peteret, in qua fidelissimum partium suarum
haberet regem Iubam, suadentibus, Aegyptum petere
proposuit memor beneficiorum, quae in patrem eius
Ptolemaei, qui tum puero quam iuveni propior regna-
bat Alexandriae, contulerat. Sed quis in adversis 2
beneficiorum servat memoriam? aut quis ullam ca-
lamitosis deberi putat gratiam? aut quando fortuna
non mutat fidem? Missi itaque ab rege, qui venientem
Cn. Pompeium (is iam a Mytilenis Corneliam uxorem
receptam in navem fugae comitem habere coeperat)
consilio Theodoti et Achillae exciperent hortarentur-
que, ut ex oneraria in eam navem, quae obviam pro-
cesserat, transcenderet: quod cum fecisset, princeps
Romani nominis imperio arbitrioque Aegyptii mancipii
C. Caesare P. Servilio consulibus iugulatus est. Hic 3
post tres consulatus et totidem triumphos domitumque
terrarum orbem sanctissimi atque praestantissimi viri
in id evecti, super quod ascendi non potest, duodesexa-
gesimum annum agentis pridie natalem ipsius vitae

fuit exitus, in tantum in illo viro a se discordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, deesset
4 ad sepulturam. Quid aliud quam nimium occupatos dixerim, quos in aetate et tanti et paene nostri saeculi viri fefellit quinquennium? cum a C. Atilio et Q. Servilio consulibus tam facilis esset annorum digestio. Quod adieci, non ut arguerem, sed ne arguerer.

54 Non fuit maior in Caesarem, quam in Pompeium fuerat, regis eorumque, quorum is auctoritate regebatur, fides. Quippe cum venientem eum temptassent insidiis ac deinde bello lacessere auderent, utrique summorum imperatorum, *alteri mortuo*, alteri super-
2 stiti meritas poenas luere suppliciis. Nusquam erat Pompeius corpore, adhuc ubique vivebat nomine. Quippe ingens partium eius favor bellum excitaverat Africum, quod ciebat rex Iuba et Scipio, vir consularis, ante biennium quam extingueretur Pompeius, lectus
3 ab eo socer, eorumque copias auxerat M. Cato, ingenti cum difficultate itinerum locorumque inopia perductis ad eos legionibus: qui vir cum summum ei a militibus deferretur imperium, honoratiori parere maluit.

55 Admonet promissae brevitatis fides, quanto omnia transcursu dicenda sint. Sequens fortunam suam Caesar pervectus in Africam est, quam occiso C. Curione, Iulianarum duce partium, Pompeiani obtinebant exercitus. Ibi primo varia fortuna, mox pugnavit sua,
2 inclinataeque hostium copiae: nec dissimilis ibi adversus victos quam in priores clementia Caesaris fuit. Victorem Africani belli Caesarem gravius excepit Hispaniense (nam victus ab eo Pharnaces vix quidquam gloriae eius adstruxit), quod Cn. Pompeius, Magni filius, adulescens impetus ad bella maximi,

ingens ac terribile conflaverat, undique ad eum adhuc
paterni nominis magnitudinem sequentium ex toto
orbe terrarum auxiliis confluentibus. Sua Caesarem 3
in Hispaniam comitata fortuna est, sed nullum umquam
atrocius periculosiusque ab eo initum proelium, adeo
ut plus quam dubio Marte descenderet equo consis-
tensque ante recedentem suorum aciem, increpita prius
fortuna, quod se in eum servasset exitum, denuntiaret
militibus vestigio se non recessurum: proinde vide-
rent, quem et quo loco imperatorem deserturi forent.
Verecundia magis quam virtute acies restituta, et cer- 4
tatum a duce quam a milite fortius. Cn. Pompeius
gravis vulnere inventus inter solitudines avias inter-
emptus est; Labienum Varumque acies abstulit.

Caesar omnium victor regressus in urbem, quod **56**
humanam excedat fidem, omnibus, qui contra se arma
tulerant, ignovit, *et* magnificentissimis gladiatorii mu-
neris, naumachiae et equitum peditumque, simul ele-
phantorum certaminis spectaculis epulique per multos
dies dati celebratione replevit eam. Quinque egit tri- 2
umphos: Gallici apparatus ex citro, Pontici ex acan-
tho, Alexandrini testudine, Africi ebore, Hispaniensis
argento rasili constitit. Pecunia ex manubiis lata
paulo amplius sexiens miliens sestertium. Neque illi 3
tanto viro et tam clementer omnibus victoriis suis
uso plus quinque mensium principalis quies contigit.
Quippe cum mense Octobri in urbem revertisset, idi-
bus Martiis, coniurationis auctoribus Bruto et Cassio,
quorum alterum promittendo consulatum non obliga-
verat, contra differendo Cassium offenderat, adiectis
etiam consiliariis caedis familiarissimis omnium et
fortuna partium eius in summum evectis fastigium, D.

Bruto et C. Trebonio aliisque clari nominis viris, in-
teremptus est. Cui magnam invidiam conciliarat M.
Antonius, omnibus audendis paratissimus, consulatus
collega, inponendo capiti eius Lupercalibus sedentis
pro rostris insigne regium, quod ab eo ita repulsum
erat, ut non offensus videretur.

57 Laudandum experientia consilium est Pansae atque
Hirtii, qui semper praedixerant Caesari, ut principa-
tum armis quaesitum armis teneret: ille dictitans
mori se quam timeri malle dum clementiam, quam
praestiterat, expectat, incautus ab ingratis occupatus
est, cum quidem plurima ei praesagia atque indicia dii
2 immortales futuri obtulissent periculi. Nam et haru-
spices praemonuerant, ut diligentissime iduum Martia-
rum caveret diem, et uxor Calpurnia territa nocturno
visu, ut ea die domi subsisteret, orarat, et libelli con-
iurationem nuntiantes dati neque protinus ab eo lecti
3 erant. Sed profecto ineluctabilis fatorum vis, cu-
iuscumque fortunam mutare constituit, consilia cor-
rumpit.

58 Quo anno id patravere facinus Brutus et Cassius,
2 praetores erant, D. Brutus consul designatus: hi una
cum coniurationis globo, stipati gladiatorum D. Bruti
manu, Capitolium occupavere. Tum consul Antonius
(quem cum simul interimendum censuisset Cassius
testamentumque Caesaris abolendum, Brutus repugna-
verat dictitans nihil amplius civibus praeter tyranni
— ita enim appellari Caesarem facto eius expediebat
3 — petendum esse sanguinem) convocato senatu, cum
iam Dolabella, quem substituturus sibi Caesar designa-
verat consulem, fasces atque insignia corripuisset
consulis, velut pacis auctor liberos suos obsides in

Capitolium misit fidemque descendendi tuto interfec-
toribus Caesaris dedit. Et illud decreti Atheniensium 4
celeberrimi exemplum, relatum a Cicerone, oblivionis
praeteritarum rerum decreto patrum comprobatum est.

Caesaris deinde testamentum apertum est, quo C. **59**
Octavium, nepotem sororis suae Iuliae, adoptabat.
De cuius origine, etiam si per se nitet, pauca dicenda
sunt. Fuit C. Octavius ut non patricia, ita admodum 2
speciosa equestri genitus familia, gravis, sanctus, inno-
cens, dives. Hic praetor inter nobilissimos viros
creatus primo loco, cum ei dignatio Iulia genitam
Atiam conciliasset uxorem, ex eo honore sortitus
Macedoniam appellatusque in ea imperator, decedens
ad petitionem consulatus obiit praetextato relicto
filio. Quem C. Caesar, maior eius avunculus, edu- 3
catum apud Philippum vitricum dilexit ut suum,
natumque annos duodeviginti Hispaniensis militiae
adsecutum se postea comitem habuit, numquam aut
alio usum hospitio quam suo aut alio vectum vehiculo,
pontificatusque sacerdotio puerum honoravit. Et pa- 4
tratis bellis civilibus ad erudiendam liberalibus disci-
plinis singularis indolem iuvenis Apolloniam eum in
studia miserat, mox belli Getici ac deinde Parthici
habiturus commilitonem. Cui ut est nuntiatum de 5
caede avunculi, cum protinus ex vicinis legionibus
centuriones suam suorumque militum operam ei polli-
cerentur neque eam spernendam Salvidienus et
Agrippa dicerent, ille festinans pervenire in urbem
omnem ordinem ac rationem et necis et testamenti
Brundusii comperit. Cui adventanti Romam inmanis 6
amicorum occurrit frequentia, et cum intraret urbem,
solis orbis super caput eius curvatus aequaliter rotun-

datusque in colorem arcus velut coronam tanti mox viri capiti imponens conspectus est.

60 Non placebat Atiae matri Philippoque vitrico adiri nomen invidiosae fortunae Caesaris, sed adserebant salutaria rei publicae terrarumque orbis fata condi-
2 torem conservatoremque Romani nominis. Sprevit itaque caelestis animus humana consilia et cum periculo potius summa quam tuto humilia proposuit sequi maluitque avunculo et Caesari de se quam vitrico credere, dictitans nefas esse, quo nomine Caesari dignus
3 esset visus, semet ipsum *sibi* videri indignum. Hunc protinus Antonius consul superbe excepit (neque is erat contemptus, sed metus) vixque admisso in Pompeianos hortos loquendi secum tempus dedit, mox etiam velut insidiis eius petitus sceleste insimulare coepit, in quo turpiter deprehensa eius vanitas est.
4 Aperte deinde Antonii ac Dolabellae consulum ad nefandam dominationem erupit furor. Sestertium septiens miliens, depositum a C. Caesare ad aedem Opis, occupatum ab Antonio, actorum eiusdem insertis falsis vitiatisque corrupti commentarii atque omnia pretio temperata, vendente rem publicam consule.
5 Idem provinciam D. Bruto designato consuli decretam Galliam occupare statuit, Dolabella transmarinas decrevit sibi; interque naturaliter dissimillimos ac diversa volentis crescebat odium, eoque C. Caesar iuvenis cotidianis Antonii petebatur insidiis.

61 Torpebat oppressa dominatione Antonii civitas: indignatio et dolor omnibus, vis ad resistendum nulli aderat, cum C. Caesar undevicesimum annum ingressus, mira ausus ac summa consecutus privato consilio
2 maiorem senatu pro re publica animum habuit pri-



mumque a Calatia, mox a Casilino veteranos excivit paternos: quorum exemplum secuti alii brevi in formam iusti coiere exercitus. Mox cum Antonius occurrisset exercitui, quem ex transmarinis provinciis Brundusium venire iusserat, legio Martia et quarta cognita et senatus voluntate et tanti iuvenis indole sublatis signis ad Caesarem se contulerunt. Eum senatus honoratum 3
equestri statua, quae hodieque in rostris posita aetatem eius scriptura indicat, (qui honor non alii per trecentos annos quam L. Sullae et Cn. Pompeio et C. Caesari contigerat) pro praetore una cum consulibus designatis Hirtio et Pansa bellum cum Antonio gerere iussit. *Id* ab eo annum agente vicesimum fortissime 4
circa Mutinam administratum est et D. Brutus obsidione liberatus. Antonius turpi ac nuda fuga coactus deserere Italiam, consulum autem alter in acie, alter post paucos dies ex volnere mortem obiit.

Omnia ante quam fugaretur Antonius honorifice a **62**
senatu in Caesarem exercitumque eius decreta sunt maxime auctore Cicerone; sed ut recessit metus, erupit voluntas protinusque Pompeianis partibus rediit animus. Bruto Cassioque provinciae, quas iam ipsi sine 2
ullo senatus consulto occupaverant, decretae, laudati quicumque se iis exercitus tradidissent, omnia transmarina imperia eorum commissa arbitrio. Quippe M. 3
Brutus et C. Cassius, nunc metuentes arma Antonii, nunc ad augendam eius invidiam simulantes se metuere, testati edictis libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum rei publicae constaret concordia, nec ullam belli civilis praebituros materiam, plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti sui, profecti urbe atque Italia, intento ac pari animo sine auctoritate

publica provincias exercitusque occupàverant et, ubi-
cumque ipsi essent, praetexentes esse rem publicam,
pecunias etiam, quae ex transmarinis provinciis
Romam ab quaestoribus deportabantur, a volentibus
4 acceperant. Quae omnia senatus decretis comprensa
et comprobata sunt et D. Bruto, quod alieno beneficio
viveret, decretus triumphus, Pansae atque Hirtii cor-
5 pora publica sepultura honorata, Caesaris adeo nulla
habita mentio, ut legati, qui ad exercitum eius missi
erant, iuberentur summoto eo milites adloqui. Non
fuit tam ingratus exercitus, quam fuerat senatus: nam
cum eam iniuriam dissimulando Caesar ipse ferret,
negavere milites sine imperatore suo ulla se audituros
6 mandata. Hoc est illud tempus, quo Cicero insito
amore Pompeianarum partium Caesarem laudandum
et tollendum censebat, cum aliud diceret, aliud intel-
legi vellet.

63 Interim Antonius fuga transgressus Alpes, primo
per conloquia repulsus a M. Lepido, qui pontifex
maximus in C. Caesaris locum furto creatus decreta
sibi Hispania adhuc in Gallia morabatur, mox saepius
in conspectum veniens militum (cum et Lepido omnes
imperatores forent meliores et multis Antonius, dum
erat sobrius), per aversa castrorum proruto vallo a
militibus receptus est: qui titulo imperii cedebat
2 Lepido, cum summa virium penes eum foret. Sub
Antonii ingressum in castra Iuventius Laterensis, vir
vita ac morte consentaneus, cum acerrime suasisset
Lepido, ne se cum Antonio hoste iudicato iungeret,
3 inritus consilii gladio se ipse transfixit. Plancus
deinde dubia, id est sua fide, diu quarum esset par-
tium secum luctatus ac sibi difficile consentiens, et

nunc adiutor D. Bruti designati consulis, collegae sui,
senatuique se litteris venditans, mox eiusdem proditor,
Asinius autem Pollio firmus proposito et Iulianis par-
tibus fidus, Pompeianis adversus, uterque exercitus
tradidere Antonio.

D. Brutus desertus primo a Planco, postea etiam 64
insidiis eiusdem petitus, paulatim relinquente eum
exercitu fugiens in hospitis cuiusdam nobilis viri,
nomine Cameli, domo ab iis, quos miserat Antonius,
iugulatus est iustissimasque optime de se merito viro
C. Caesari poenas dedit, cuius cum primus omnium 2
amicorum fuisset, interfector fuit et fortunae, ex qua
fructum tulerat, invidiam in auctorem relegabat cense-
batque aequum, quae acceperat a Caesare, retinere,
Caesarem, qui illa dederat, perire. Haec sunt tem- 3
pora, quibus M. Tullius continuis actionibus aeternas
Antonii memoriae inussit notas, sed hic fulgentissimo
et caelesti ore, at tribunus Cannutius canina rabie
lacerabat Antonium. Utrique vindicta libertatis 4
morte stetit; sed tribuni sanguine commissa pro-
scriptio, Ciceronis ut satiato Antonio paene finita.
Lepidus deinde a senatu hostis iudicatus est, ut ante
fuerat Antonius.

Tum inter eum Caesaremque et Antonium com- 65
mercia epistularum et condicionum iacta mentio,
cum Antonius et subinde Caesarem admoneret, quam
inimicae ipsi Pompeianae partes forent et in quod
iam emersissent fastigium et quanto Ciceronis studio
Brutus Cassiusque attollerentur, denuntiaretque se
cum Bruto Cassioque, qui iam decem et septem legio-
num potentes erant, iuncturum vires suas, si Caesar
eius aspernaretur concordiam, diceretque plus Cae-

2 sarem patris quam se amici ultioni debere. *Tum* igitur inita potentiae societas et hortantibus orantibusque exercitibus inter Antonium etiam et Caesarem facta adfinitas, cum esset privigna Antonii desponsata Caesari. Consulatumque iniit Caesar pridie quam viginti annos impleret decimo Kal. Octobres cum collega Q. Pedio post urbem conditam annis septingentis et novem, ante duos et septuaginta, quam tu, M. Vinici,
3 consulatum inires. Vidit hic annus Ventidium, per quam urbem inter captivos Picentium in triumpho ductus erat, in ea consularem praetextam iungentem praetoriae. Idem hic postea triumphavit.

66 Furente deinde Antonio simulque Lepido, quorum uterque, ut praediximus, hostes iudicati erant, cum ambo mallent sibi nuntiari, quid passi essent, quam quid meruissent, repugnante Caesare, sed frustra adversus duos, instauratum Sullani exempli malum,
2 proscriptio. Nihil tam indignum illo tempore fuit, quam quod aut Caesar aliquem proscribere coactus est aut ab ullo Cicero proscriptus est. Abscisaque scelere Antonii vox publica est, cum eius salutem nemo defendisset, qui per tot annos et publicam civitatis et
3 privatam civium defenderat. Nihil tamen egisti, M. Antoni, (cogit enim excedere propositi formam operis erumpens animo ac pectore indignatio) nihil, inquam, egisti mercedem caelestissimi oris et clarissimi capitis abscisi numerando auctoramentoque funebri ad conservatoris quondam rei publicae tantique
4 consulis inritando necem. Rapuisti tu M. Ciceroni lucem sollicitam et aetatem senilem et vitam miseriorem te principe quam sub te triumviro mortem, famam vero gloriamque factorum atque dictorum adeo non

abstulisti, ut auxeris. Vivit vivetque per omnem sae- 5
culorum memoriam, dumque hoc vel forte vel provi-
dentia vel utcumque constitutum rerum naturae cor-
pus, quod ille paene solus Romanorum animo vidit,
ingenio complexus est, eloquentia inluminavit, mane-
bit incolume, comitem aevi sui laudem Ciceronis trahet
omnisque posteritas illius in te scripta mirabitur, tuum
in eum factum execrabitur citiusque e mundo genus
hominum quam *Ciceronis nomen* cedet.

Huius totius temporis fortunam ne deflere quidem **67**
quisquam satis digne potuit, adeo nemo exprimere
verbis potest. Id tamen notandum est, fuisse in pro- 2
scriptos uxorum fidem summam, libertorum mediam,
servorum aliquam, filiorum nullam : adeo difficilis est
hominibus utcumque conceptae spei mora. Ne quid 3
ulli sanctum relinqueretur, ut in dotem invitamentum-
que sceleris Antonius L. Caesarem avunculum, Lepidus
Paulum fratrem proscripserant; nec Planco gratia
defuit ad impetrandum, ut frater eius Plancus Plotius
proscriberetur. Eoque inter iocos militaris, qui cur- 4
rum Lepidi Plancique secuti erant, inter execrationem
civium usurpabant hunc versum:

De germanis, non de Gallis duo triumphant consules.

Suo praeteritum loco referatur; neque enim persona **68**
umbram actae rei capit. Dum in acie Pharsalica acriter
de summa rerum Caesar dimicat, M. Caelius, vir elo-
quio animoque Curioni simillimus, sed in utroque per-
fectior nec minus ingeniose nequam, cum ne immodica
quidem *re* servari posset (quippe peior illi res fami-
liaris quam mens erat), in praetura novarum tabularum 2
auctor extitit nequiitque senatus et consulis auctoritate
deterreri; accito etiam Milone Annio, qui non impe-

trato reditu Iulianis partibus infestus erat, in urbe
seditionem, in agris haud occulte bellicum tumultum
movens, primo summotus a re publica, mox consulari-
bus armis auctore senatu circa Thurios oppressus est.
3 *In* incepto pari similis fortuna Milonis fuit, qui Com-
psam in Hirpinis oppugnans ictusque lapide cum P.
Clodio, tum patriae, quam armis petebat, poenas dedit,
4 vir inquies et ultra fortem temerarius. Quatenus
autem aliquid ex omissis peto, notetur immodica et
intempestiva libertate usos adversus C. Caesarem
Marullum Epidium Flavumque Caesetium tribunos
plebis, dum arguunt in eo regni voluntatem, paene
5 vim dominationis expertos. In hoc tamen saepe la-
cessiti principis ira excessit, ut censoria potius conten-
tus nota quam animadversione dictatoria summoveret
eos a re publica testareturque esse sibi miserrimum,
quod aut natura sua ei excedendum foret aut minuenda
dignitas. Sed ad ordinem revertendum est.

69 Iam et Dolabella in Asia C. Trebonium consularem,
cui succedebat, fraude deceptum Zmyrnae occiderat,
virum adversus merita Caesaris ingratissimum par-
ticipemque caedis eius, a quo ipse in consulare provec-
2 tus fastigium fuerat, et C. Cassius acceptis a Statio
Murco et Crispo Marcio, praetoriis viris imperatoribus-
que, praevalidis in Syria legionibus, inclusum Dola-
bellam, qui praeoccupata Asia in Syriam pervenerat,
Laodiciae expugnata ea urbe interfecerat (ita tamen,
ut ad ictum servi sui Dolabella non segniter cervicem
daret) et decem legiones in eo tractu sui iuris fecerat,
3 et M. Brutus C. Antonio, fratri M. Antonii, in Mace-
donia Vatinioque circa Dyrrachium volentis legiones
extorserat (sed Antonium bello lacessierat, Vatinium

dignatione obruerat, cum et Brutus cuilibet ducum
praeferendus videretur et Vatinius nulli non esset
postferendus, in quo deformitas corporis cum turpitu- 4
dine certabat ingenii, adeo ut animus eius dignissimo
domicilio inclusus videretur) eratque septem legionibus
validus. At lege Pedia, quam consul Pedius collega 5
Caesaris tulerat, omnibus, qui Caesarem patrem inter-
fecerant, aqua ignique damnatis interdictum erat: quo
tempore Capito, patruus meus, vir ordinis senatorii,
Agrippae subscripsit in C. Cassium. Dumque ea in 6
Italia geruntur, acri atque prosperrimo bello Cassius
Rhodum, rem inmanis operis, ceperat, Brutus Lycios
devicerat, et inde in Macedoniam exercitus traiecerant,
cum per omnia repugnans naturae suae Cassius etiam
Bruti clementiam vinceret. Neque reperias, quos aut
pronior fortuna comitata sit aut veluti fatigata matu-
rius destituerit quam Brutum et Cassium.

Tum Caesar et Antonius traiecerunt exercitus in **70**
Macedoniam et apud urbem Philippos cum Bruto
Cassioque acie concurrerunt. Cornu, cui Brutus prae-
erat, impulsis hostibus castra Caesaris cepit (nam ipse
Caesar, etiamsi infirmissimus valetudine erat, obibat
munia ducis, oratus etiam ab Artorio medico, ne in
castris remaneret, manifesta denuntiatione quietis ter-
rito), id autem, in quo Cassius fuerat, fugatum ac
male mulcatum in altiora *se* receperat loca. Tum 2
Cassius ex sua fortuna eventum collegae aestimans,
cum dimisisset evocatum iussissetque nuntiare sibi,
quae esset multitudo ac vis hominum, quae ad se
tenderet, tardius eo nuntiante, cum in vicino esset
agmen cursu ad eum tendentium neque pulvere facies
aut signa denotari possent, existimans hostes esse, qui

irruerent, lacerna caput circumdedit extentamque cer-
3 vicem interritus liberto praebuit. Deciderat Cassii
caput, cum evocatus advenit nuntians Brutum esse
victorem. Qui cum imperatorem prostratum videret,
sequar, inquit, eum, quem mea occidit tarditas, et ita
4 in gladium incubuit. Post paucos deinde dies Brutus
conflixit cum hostibus et victus acie cum in tumulum
nocte ex fuga se recepisset, impetravit a Stratone
Aegeate, familiari suo, ut manum morituro commo-
5 daret sibi; reiectoque laevo super caput bracchio, cum
mucronem gladii eius dextera tenens sinistrae admo-
visset mammillae ad eum ipsum locum, qua cor emicat,
impellens se in vulnus uno ictu transfixus expiravit
protinus.

71 *Corvinus* Messalla, fulgentissimus iuvenis, proximus
in illis castris Bruti Cassiique auctoritati, cum essent
qui eum ducem poscerent, servari beneficio Caesaris
maluit quam dubiam spem armorum temptare amplius;
nec aut Caesari quidquam ex victoriis suis fuit laetius
quam servasse Corvinum aut maius exemplum hominis
grati ac pii, quam Corvini in Caesarem fuit. Non
aliud bellum cruentius caede clarissimorum virorum
2 fuit. Tum Catonis filius cecidit; eadem Lucullum
Hortensiumque, eminentissimorum civium filios, for-
tuna abstulit; nam Varro ad ludibrium moriturus
3 Antonii digna illo ac vera de exitu eius magna cum
libertate ominatus est. Drusus Livius, Iuliae Augu-
stae pater, et Varus Quintilius ne temptata quidem
hostis misericordia alter se ipse in tabernaculo intere-
mit, Varus autem liberti, quem id facere coëgerat,
manu, cum se insignibus honorum velasset, iugulatus
est.

Hunc exitum M. Bruti partium septimum et tricesimum annum agentis fortuna esse voluit, incorrupto animo eius in diem, quae illi omnes virtutes unius temeritate facti abstulit. Fuit autem dux Cassius melior, quanto vir Brutus: e quibus Brutum amicum habere malles, inimicum magis timeres Cassium; in altero maior vis, in altero virtus: qui si vicissent, quantum rei publicae interfuit Caesarem potius habere quam Antonium principem, tantum retulisset habere Brutum quam Cassium. Cn. Domitius, pater L. Domitii nuper a nobis visi, eminentissimae ac nobilissimae simplicitatis viri, avus huius Cn. Domitii, clarissimi iuvenis, occupatis navibus cum magno sequentium consilia sua comitatu fugae fortunaeque se commisit, semet ipso contentus duce partium. Statius Murcus, qui classi et custodiae maris praefuerat, cum omni commissa sibi parte exercitus naviumque Sex. Pompeium, Cn. Magni filium, qui ex Hispania revertens Siciliam armis occupaverat, petiit. Ad quem et e Brutianis castris et ex Italia aliisque terrarum partibus, quos praesenti periculo fortuna subduxerat, proscripti confluebant: quippe nullum habentibus statum quilibet dux erat idoneus, cum fortuna non electionem daret, *sed* perfugium ostenderet exitialemque tempestatem fugientibus statio pro portu foret.

72 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5

Hic adulescens erat studiis rudis, sermone barbarus, impetu strenuus, manu promptus, cogitatione celer, fide patri dissimillimus, libertorum suorum libertus servorumque servus, speciosis invidens, ut pareret humillimis: quem senatus paene totus adhuc e Pompeianis constans partibus post Antonii a Mutina fugam eodem illo tempore, quo Bruto Cassioque transmarinas

73 | 2

provincias decreverat, revocatum ex Hispania, ubi ad-
versus eum clarissimum bellum Pollio Asinius praeto-
rius gesserat, in paterna bona restituerat et orae
3 maritimae praefecerat. Is tum, ut praediximus, occu-
pata Sicilia servitia fugitivosque in numerum exerci-
tus sui recipiens magnum modum legionum effecerat
perque Menam et Menecraten paternos libertos, prae-
fectos classium, latrociniis ac praedationibus infestato
mari ad se exercitumque tuendum rapto utebatur,
cum eum non depuderet vindicatum armis ac ductu
patris sui mare infestare piraticis sceleribus.

74 Fractis Brutianis Cassianisque partibus Antonius
transmarinas obiturus provincias substitit. Caesar in
Italiam se recepit eamque longe quam speraverat
2 tumultuosiorem repperit. Quippe L. Antonius consul,
vitiorum fratris sui consors, sed virtutum, quae inter-
dum in illo erant, expers, modo apud veteranos crimi-
natus Caesarem, modo eos, qui iussa divisione praedio-
rum nominatisque coloniis agros amiserant, ad arma
3 conciens magnum exercitum conflaverat. Ex altera
parte uxor Antonii Fulvia, nihil muliebre praeter
corpus gerens, omnia armis tumultuque miscebat.
Haec belli sedem Praeneste ceperat; Antonius pulsus
undique viribus Caesaris Perusiam se contulerat:
Plancus, Antonianarum adiutor partium, spem magis
4 ostenderat auxilii, quam opem ferebat Antonio. Usus
Caesar virtute et fortuna sua Perusiam expugnavit.
Antonium inviolatum dimisit, in Perusinos magis ira
militum quam voluntate saevitum ducis: urbs incensa,
cuius initium incendii princeps eius loci fecit Mace-
donicus, qui subiecto rebus ac penatibus suis igni
transfixum se gladio flammae intulit.

Per eadem tempora exarserat in Campania bellum, 75
quod professus eorum, qui perdiderant agros, patrocinium ciebat Ti. Claudius Nero praetorius et pontifex, Ti. Caesaris pater, magni vir animi doctissimique ingenii: id quoque adventu Caesaris sepultum atque
discussum est. Quis fortunae mutationes, quis dubios 2
rerum humanarum casus satis mirari queat? quis non diversa praesentibus contrariaque expectatis aut speret
aut timeat? Livia, nobilissimi et fortissimi viri Drusi 3
Claudiani filia, genere, probitate, forma Romanarum eminentissima, quam postea coniugem Augusti vidimus, quam transgressi ad deos sacerdotem ac filiam, tum fugiens mox futuri sui Caesaris arma minus bimum hunc Tiberium Caesarem, vindicem Romani imperii futurumque eiusdem Caesaris filium, gestans sinu, per avia itinerum vitatis militum gladiis uno comitante, quo facilius occultaretur fuga, pervenit ad mare et cum viro Nerone pervecta in Siciliam est.

Quod alieno testimonium redderem, eo non fraudabo 76
avum meum. Quippe C. Velleius, honoratissimo inter illos trecentos et sexaginta iudices loco a Cn. Pompeio lectus, eiusdem Marcique Bruti ac Ti. Neronis praefectus fabrum, vir nulli secundus, in Campania digressu Neronis a Neapoli, cuius ob singularem cum eo amicitiam partium adiutor fuerat, gravis iam aetate et corpore *cum* comes esse non posset, gladio se ipse
transfixit. Inviolatam excedere Italia Caesar passus 2
est Fulviam Plancumque, muliebris fugae comitem: nam Pollio Asinius cum septem legionibus, diu retenta in potestate Antonii Venetia, magnis speciosisque rebus circa Altinum aliasque eius regionis urbes editis, Antonium petens, vagum adhuc Domitium, quem di-

gressum e Brutianis castris post caedem eius praediximus et propriae classis factum ducem, consiliis suis in-
3 lectum ac fide data iunxit Antonio: quo facto, quisquis aequum se praestiterit, sciat non minus a Pollione in Antonium quam ab Antonio in Pollionem esse conlatum. Adventus deinde in Italiam Antonii apparatusque contra eum Caesaris habuit belli metum, sed
4 pax circa Brundusium composita. Per quae tempora Rufi Salvidieni scelesta consilia patefacta sunt: qui natus obscurissimis initiis parum habebat summa accepisse et proximus a Cn. Pompeio ipsoque Caesare equestris ordinis consul creatus esse, nisi in id ascendisset, e quo infra se et Caesarem videret et rem publicam.

77 Tum expostulante consensu populi, quem gravis urebat infesto mari annona, cum Pompeio quoque circa Misenum pax inita, qui haud absurde, cum in navi Caesaremque et Antonium cena exciperet, dixit in carinis suis se cenam dare, referens hoc dictum ad loci nomen, in quo paterna domus ab Antonio possi-
2 debatur. In hoc pacis foedere placuit Siciliam Achaiamque Pompeio concedere, in quo tamen animus inquies manere non potuit. Id unum tantummodo salutare adventu suo patriae attulit, quod omnibus proscriptis aliisque, qui ad eum ex diversis causis
3 fugerant, reditum salutemque pactus est: quae res et alios clarissimos viros et Neronem Claudium et M. Silanum Sentiumque Saturninum et Arruntium ac Titium restituit rei publicae. Statium autem Murcum, qui adventu suo classisque celeberrimae vires eius duplicaverat, insimulatum falsis criminationibus, quia talem virum collegam officii Mena et Menecrates fastidierant, Pompeius in Sicilia interfecerat.

Hoc tractu temporum Octaviam, sororem Caesaris, 78
M. Antonius duxit uxorem. Redierat Pompeius in Siciliam, Antonius in transmarinas provincias, quas magnis molimentis Labienus, ex Brutianis castris profectus ad Parthos, perducto eorum exercitu in Syriam interfectoque legato Antonii concusserat: qui virtute et ductu Ventidii una cum Parthorum copiis celeberrimoque iuvenum Pacoro, regis filio, extinctus est. In- 2
terim Caesar per haec tempora, ne res disciplinae inimicissima, otium, corrumperet militem, crebris in Illyrico Delmatiaque expeditionibus patientia periculorum bellique experientia durabat exercitum. Eadem 3
tempestate Calvinus Domitius, cum ex consulatu obtineret Hispaniam, gravissimi comparandique antiquis exempli auctor fuit: quippe primi pili centurionem nomine Vibillium ob turpem ex acie fugam fusti percussit.

Crescente in dies et classe et fama Pompei Caesar 79
molem belli eius suscipere statuit. Aedificandis navibus contrahendoque militi ac remigi navalibusque adsuescendo certaminibus atque exercitationibus praefectus est M. Agrippa, virtutis nobilissimae, labore, vigilia, periculo invictus parendique, sed uni, scientissimus, aliis sane imperandi cupidus et per omnia extra dilationes positus consultisque facta coniungens. Hic 2
in Averno ac Lucrino lacu speciosissima classe fabricata cotidianis exercitationibus militem remigemque ad summam et militaris et maritimae rei perduxit scientiam. Hac classi Caesar, cum prius despondente ei Nerone, cui ante nupta fuerat, Liviam, auspicatis rei publicae ominibus duxisset eam uxorem, Pompeio Siciliaeque bellum intulit. Sed virum humana ope 3

invictum graviter eo tempore fortuna concussit: quippe longe maiorem partem classis circa Veliam Palinurique promontorium adorta vis Africi laceravit ac distulit. Ea patrando bello mora fuit, quod postea
4 dubia et interdum ancipiti fortuna gestum est. Nam et classis eodem loco vexata est tempestate, et ut navali primo proelio apud Mylas ductu Agrippae pugnatum prospere, ita inopinato *Pompeianae* classis adventu gravis sub ipsius Caesaris oculis circa Tauromenium accepta clades; neque ab ipso periculum abfuit. Legiones, quae cum Cornificio erant, legato Caesaris, expositae in terram paene a Pompeio oppres-
5 sae sunt. Sed ancipitis fortuna temporis mature virtute correcta: explicatis quippe utriusque partis classibus paene omnibus exutus navibus Pompeius Asiam fuga petivit iussuque M. Antonii, cuius opem petierat, dum inter ducem et supplicem tumultuatur et nunc dignitatem retinet, nunc vitam precatur, a Titio iugulatus
6 est: cui in tantum duravit hoc facinore contractum odium, ut mox ludos in theatro Pompei faciens execratione populi spectaculo, quod praebebat, pelleretur.

80 Acciverat gerens contra Pompeium bellum ex Africa Caesar Lepidum cum duodecim semiplenis legionibus. Hic vir omnium vanissimus neque ulla virtute tam longam fortunae indulgentiam meritus exercitum
2 Pompei, quia propior fuerat, sequentem non ipsius, sed Caesaris auctoritatem ac fidem, sibi iunxerat inflatusque amplius viginti legionum numero in id furoris processerat, ut inutilis alienae victoriae comes, quam diu moratus erat, dissidendo in consiliis Caesari et semper diversa iis, quae aliis placebant, dicendo, totam victoriam ut suam interpretaretur auderetque

denuntiare Caesari, excederet Sicilia. Non ab Scipio- 3
nibus aliisque veteribus Romanorum ducum quidquam
ausum patratumque fortius quam tunc a Caesare.
Quippe cum inermis et lacernatus esset, praeter
nomen nihil trahens, ingressus castra Lepidi, evitatis
telis, quae iussu hominis pravissimi in eum iacta erant,
cum lacerna eius perforata esset lancea, aquilam legi-
onis rapere ausus est. Scires, quid interesset inter 4
duces: armati inermem secuti sunt decimoque anno
quam ad indignissimam vita sua potentiam pervenerat,
Lepidus et a militibus et a fortuna desertus pulloque
velatus amiculo inter ultimam confluentium ad Cae-
sarem turbam latens genibus eius advolutus est. Vita
rerumque suarum dominium concessa ei sunt, spoliata,
quam tueri non poterat, dignitas.

Subita deinde exercitus seditio, qui plerumque con- **81**
templatus frequentiam suam a disciplina desciscit et,
quod cogere se putat posse, rogare non sustinet, par-
tim severitate, partim liberalitate discussa principis, 2
speciosumque per idem tempus adiectum supplemen-
tum Campanae coloniae . . . eius relicti erant publici:
pro his longe uberiores reditus duodecies sestertium in
Creta insula redditi et aqua promissa, quae hodieque
singulare et salubritatis instrumentum et amoenitatis
ornamentum est. Insigne coronae classicae, quo nemo 3
umquam Romanorum donatus erat, hoc bello Agrippa
singulari virtute meruit. Victor deinde Caesar rever-
sus in urbem contractas emptionibus complures domos
per procuratores, quo laxior fieret ipsius, publicis se
usibus destinare professus est, templumque Apollinis
et circa porticus facturum promisit, quod ab eo singu-
lari extructum munificentia est.

82 Qua aestate Caesar tam prospere sepelivit in Sicilia bellum, fortuna, in Caesare et in re publica mitis, saeviit ad Orientem. Quippe Antonius cum tredecim legionibus ingressus Armeniam ac deinde Mediam et per eas regiones Parthos petens habuit regem eorum
2 obvium: primoque duas legiones cum omnibus impedimentis tormentisque et Statiano legato amisit, mox saepius ipse cum summo totius exercitus discrimine ea adiit pericula, a quibus servari se posse desperaret, amissaque non minus quarta parte militum captivi cuiusdam, sed Romani, consilio ac fide servatus, qui clade Crassiani exercitus captus, cum fortuna non animum mutasset, accessit nocte ad stationem Romanam praedixitque, ne destinatum iter peterent, sed
3 diverso silvestrique pervaderent. Hoc M. Antonio ac tot illis legionibus saluti fuit: de quibus tamen totoque exercitu haud minus pars quarta, ut praediximus, militum, calonum servitiique desiderata tertia est; impedimentorum vix ulla superfuit. Hanc tamen Antonius fugam suam, quia vivus exierat, victoriam vocabat. Qui tertia aestate reversus in Armeniam regem eius Artavasden fraude deceptum catenis, sed,
4 ne quid honori deesset, aureis vinxit. Crescente deinde et amoris in Cleopatram incendio et vitiorum, quae semper facultatibus licentiaque et adsentationibus aluntur, magnitudine, bellum patriae inferre constituit, cum ante novum se Liberum Patrem appellari iussisset, cum redimitus hederis coronaque velatus aurea et thyrsum tenens cothurnisque succinctus curru velut Liber Pater vectus esset Alexandriae.

83 Inter hunc apparatum belli Plancus, non iudicio recta legendi neque amore rei publicae aut Caesaris,

quippe haec semper impugnabat, sed morbo proditor, cum fuisset humillimus adsentator reginae et infra servos cliens, cum Antonii librarius, cum obscenissimarum rerum et auctor et minister, cum in omnia et 2
omnibus venalis, cum caeruleatus et nudus caputque redimitus arundine et caudam trahens, genibus innixus Glaucum saltasset in convivio, refrigeratus ab Antonio ob manifestarum rapinarum indicia transfugit ad Caesarem: et idem postea clementiam victoris pro sua virtute interpretabatur, dictitans id probatum a Caesare, cui ille ignoverat; mox autem hunc avunculum Titius imitatus est. Haud absurde Coponius, vir 3
e praetoriis gravissimus, P. Silii socer, cum recens transfuga multa ac nefanda Plancus absenti Antonio in senatu obiceret, multa, inquit, mehercules fecit Antonius pridie quam tu illum relinqueres.

Caesare deinde et Messalla Corvino consulibus de- **84**
bellatum apud Actium, ubi longe ante quam dimicaretur, exploratissima Iulianarum partium fuit victoria. Vigebat in hac parte miles atque imperator, in illa marcebant omnia: hinc remiges firmissimi, illinc inopia adfectissimi: navium haec magnitudo modica nec celeritati adversa, illa specie terribilior: hinc ad Antonium nemo, illinc ad Caesarem cotidie aliquis transfugiebat; rex Amyntas meliora et utiliora secu- 2
tus; nam Dellius exempli sui tenax ut a Dolabella *ad Cassium, a Cassio ad Antonium, ita ab Antonio transiit* ad Caesarem; virque clarissimus Cn. Domitius, qui solus Antonianarum partium numquam reginam nisi nomine salutavit, maximo et praecipiti periculo transmisit ad Caesarem. Denique in ore atque oculis Antonianae classis per M. Agrippam Leucas expugnata,

Patrae captae, Corinthus occupata, bis ante ultimum
discrimen classis hostium superata.

85 Advenit deinde maximi discriminis dies, quo Caesar
Antoniusque productis classibus pro salute alter, in
2 ruinam alter terrarum orbis dimicavere. Dextrum na-
vium Iulianarum cornu M. Lurio commissum, laevum
Arruntio, Agrippae omne classici certaminis arbi-
trium; Caesar ei parti destinatus, in quam a fortuna
vocaretur, ubique aderat. Classis Antonii regimen
Publicolae Sosioque commissum. At in terra locatum
exercitum Taurus Caesaris, Antonii regebat Canidius.
3 Ubi initum certamen est, omnia in altera parte fuere,
dux, remiges, milites, in altera nihil praeter milites.
Prima occupat fugam Cleopatra: Antonius fugientis
reginae quam pugnantis militis sui comes esse maluit
et imperator, qui in desertores saevire debuerat, de-
4 sertor exercitus sui factus est. Illis etiam detracto
capite in longum fortissime pugnandi duravit con-
stantia et desperata victoria in mortem dimicabatur.
Caesar, quos ferro poterat interimere, verbis mulcere
cupiens clamitansque et ostendens fugisse Antonium,
5 quaerebat, pro quo et cum quo pugnarent. At illi
cum diu pro absente dimicassent duce, aegre summis-
sis armis cessere victoriam, citiusque vitam veniamque
Caesar promisit, quam illis ut eam precarentur per-
suasum est; fuitque in confesso milites optimi impe-
ratoris, imperatorem fugacissimi militis functum officio,
6 ut dubites, suone an Cleopatrae arbitrio victoriam
temperaturus fuerit, qui ad eius arbitrium direxerit
fugam. Idem locatus in terra fecit exercitus, cum se
Canidius praecipiti fuga rapuisset ad Antonium.

86 Quid ille dies terrarum orbi praestiterit, ex quo in

quem statum pervenerit fortuna publica, quis in hoc
transcursu tam artati operis exprimere audeat? Vic- 2
toria vero fuit clementissima, nec quisquam inter-
emptus est paucissimis exceptis, qui ne deprecari
quidem pro se sustinerent. Ex qua lenitate ducis
colligi potuit, quem aut initio triumviratus sui aut in
campis Philippiis, si ei licuisset, victoriae suae factu-
rus fuerit *modum*. At Sosium L. Arruntii prisca
gravitate celeberrimi fides, mox, odium clementia
eluctatus sua, Caesar servavit incolumem. Non prae- 3
tereatur Asinii Pollionis factum et dictum memorabile:
namque cum se post Brundusinam pacem continuisset
in Italia neque aut vidisset umquam reginam aut post
enervatum amore eius Antonii animum partibus eius se
miscuisset, rogante Caesare, ut secum ad bellum profi-
cisceretur Actiacum: mea, inquit, in Antonium maiora
merita sunt, illius in me beneficia notiora; itaque dis-
crimini vestro me subtraham et ero praeda victoris.

Proximo deinde anno persecutus reginam Antoni- **87**
umque Alexandream, ultimam bellis civilibus imposuit
manum. Antonius se ipse non segniter interemit,
adeo ut multa desidiae crimina morte redimeret. At
Cleopatra frustratis custodibus inlata aspide morsu
eius, sane expers muliebris metus, spiritum reddidit.
Fuitque et fortuna et clementia Caesaris dignum, 2
quod nemo ex iis, qui contra eum arma tulerant, ab
eo iussuve eius interemptus *est*. D. Brutum Antonii
interemit crudelitas. Sextum Pompeium ab eo devic-
tum idem Antonius, cum dignitatis quoque servandae
dedisset fidem, etiam spiritu privavit. Brutus et 3
Cassius ante, quam victorum experirentur animum,
voluntaria morte obierunt. Antonii Cleopatraeque

quis fuisset exitus narravimus. Canidius timidius decessit, quam professioni ei, qua semper usus erat, congruebat. Ultimus autem ex interfectoribus Caesaris Parmensis Cassius morte poenas dedit, ut dederat Trebonius *primus.*

88 Dum ultimam bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque Caesar imponit manum, M. Lepidus, iuvenis forma quam mente melior, Lepidi eius, qui triumvir fuerat rei publicae constituendae, filius, Iunia Bruti sorore natus, interficiendi, simul in urbem revertisset, Cae-
2 saris consilia inierat. *Erat* tunc urbis custodiis praepositus C. Maecenas equestri, sed splendido genere natus, vir, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sane exsomnis, providens atque agendi sciens, simul vero aliquid ex negotio remitti posset, otio ac mollitiis paene ultra feminam fluens, non minus Agrippa Caesari carus, sed minus honoratus — quippe vixit angusti clavi † pene contentus —, nec minora consequi potuit, sed non tam
3 concupivit. Hic speculatus est per summam quietem ac dissimulationem praecipitis consilia iuvenis et mira celeritate nullaque cum perturbatione aut rerum aut hominum oppresso Lepido inmane novi ac resurrecturi belli civilis restinxit initium; et ille quidem male consultorum poenas exsolvit. Aequetur praedictae iam Antistii Servilia Lepidi uxor, quae vivo igni devorato praematura morte immortalem nominis sui pensavit memoriam.

89 Caesar autem reversus in Italiam atque urbem quo occursu, quo favore hominum omnium *generum*, aetatium, ordinum exceptus sit, quae magnificentia triumphorum eius, quae fuerit munerum, ne in operis quidem iusti materia, nedum huius tam recisi digne exprimi



potest. Nihil deinde optare a dis homines, nihil dii 2
hominibus praestare possunt, nihil voto concipi, nihil
felicitate consummari, quod non Augustus post redi-
tum in urbem rei publicae populoque Romano terra-
rumque orbi repraesentaverit. Finita vicesimo anno 3
bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus
ubique armorum furor, restituta vis legibus, iudiciis
auctoritas, senatui maiestas, imperium magistratuum
ad pristinum redactum modum; tantummodo octo prae-
toribus adlecti duo. Prisca illa et antiqua rei publicae 4
forma revocata rediit cultus agris, sacris honos, securi-
tas hominibus, certa cuique rerum suarum possessio;
leges emendatae utiliter, latae salubriter; senatus sine
asperitate nec sine severitate lectus. Principes viri
triumphisque et amplissimis honoribus functi adhor-
tatu principis ad ornandam urbem inlecti sunt. Con- 5
sulatus tantummodo usque ad undecimum quin con-
tinuaret Caesar, cum saepe obnitens repugnasset,
impetrare *non* potuit: nam dictaturam quam perti-
naciter ei deferebat populus, tam constanter reppulit.
Bella sub imperatore gesta pacatusque victoriis 6
terrarum orbis et tot extra Italiam domique opera
omne aevi sui spatium impensurum in id solum opus
scriptorem fatigarent: nos memores professionis uni-
versam imaginem principatus eius oculis animisque
subiecimus.

Sepultis, ut praediximus, bellis civilibus coalescen- **90**
tibusque rei publicae membris, etiam coaluere quae
tam longa armorum series laceraverat. Delmatia,
annos viginti et ducentos rebellis, ad certam confes-
sionem pacata est imperii. Alpes feris incultisque
nationibus celebres perdomitae. Hispaniae nunc

ipsius praesentia, nunc Agrippae, quem usque in tertium consulatum et mox collegium tribuniciae potestatis amicitia principis evexerat, multo vario-
2 que Marte pacatae. In quas provincias cum initio Scipione et Sempronio Longo consulibus primo anno secundi *belli* Punici abhinc annos quinquaginta et ducentos Romani exercitus missi essent duce Cn. Scipione, Africani patruo, per annos ducentos in iis multo mutuoque ita certatum est sanguine, ut amissis populi Romani imperatoribus exercitibusque saepe contumelia, nonnumquam etiam periculum Romano
3 inferretur imperio. Illae enim provinciae Scipiones consumpserunt; illae contumelioso decem annorum bello sub duce Viriatho maiores nostros exercuerunt; illae terrore Numantini belli populum Romanum concusserunt; in illis turpe Q. Pompei foedus turpiusque Mancini senatus cum ignominia dediti imperatoris rescidit; illa tot consulares, tot praetorios absumpsit duces, patrumque aetate in tantum Sertorium armis extulit, ut per quinquennium diiudicari non potuerit, Hispanis Romanisne in armis plus esset roboris et
4 uter populus alteri pariturus foret. Has igitur provincias tam diffusas, tam frequentis, tam feras ad eam pacem abhinc annos ferme quinquaginta perduxit Caesar Augustus, ut quae maximis bellis numquam vacaverant, eae sub C. Antistio ac deinde P. Silio legato ceterisque postea etiam latrociniis vacarent.

91 Dum pacatur Occidens, ab Oriente ac rege Parthorum signa Romana, quae Crasso oppresso Orodes, quae Antonio pulso filius eius Phraates ceperant, Augusto remissa sunt. Quod cognomen illi iure Planci sententia consensus universi senatus populique Romani

indidit. Erant tamen qui hunc felicissimum statum 2
odissent: quippe L. Murena et Fannius Caepio diver-
sis moribus (nam Murena sine hoc facinore potuit
videri bonus, Caepio et ante hoc erat pessimus) cum
iniissent occidendi Caesaris consilia, oppressi auctori-
tate publica, quod vi facere voluerant, iure passi sunt.
Neque multo post Rufus Egnatius, per omnia gladia- 3
tori quam senatori propior, collecto in aedilitate
favore populi, quem extinguendis privata familia in-
cendiis in dies auxerat, in tantum quidem, ut ei prae-
turam continuaret, mox etiam consulatum petere ausus,
cum esset omni flagitiorum scelerumque conscientia
mersus nec melior illi res familiaris quam mens foret,
adgregatis simillimis sibi interimere Caesarem statuit,
ut quo salvo salvus esse non poterat, eo sublato more-
retur. Quippe ita se mores habent, *ut* publica quisque 4
ruina malit occidere quam sua proteri et idem passu-
rus minus conspici. Neque hic prioribus in occul-
tando felicior fuit, abditusque carceri cum consciis
facinoris mortem dignissimam vita sua obiit.

Praeclarum excellentis viri factum C. Sentii Satur- **92**
nini circa ea tempora consulis ne fraudetur memoria.
Aberat [in] ordinandis Asiae Orientisque rebus Cae- 2
sar, circumferens terrarum orbi praesentia [sua] pacis
suae bona. Tum Sentius, forte et solus et absente
Caesare consul, cum alia prisca severitate summaque
constantia, [vetere consulum more ac severitate], ges-
sisset, protraxisset publicanorum fraudes, punisset
avaritiam, regessisset in aerarium pecunias publicas,
tum in comitiis habendis praecipuum egit consulem:
nam et quaesturam petentes, quos indignos iudicavit, 3
profiteri vetuit, et, cum id facturos se perseverarent,

consularem, si in campum descendissent, vindictam
4 minatus est, et Egnatium florentem favore publico
sperantemque ut praeturam aedilitati, ita consulatum
praeturae se iuncturum, profiteri vetuit, et cum id
non obtinuisset, iuravit, etiam si factus esset consul
suffragiis populi, tamen se eum non renuntiaturum.
5 Quod ego factum cuilibet veterum consulum gloriae
comparandum reor, nisi quod naturaliter audita visis
laudamus libentius et praesentia invidia, praeterita
veneratione prosequimur et his nos obrui, illis instrui
credimus.

93 Ante triennium fere, quam Egnatianum scelus
erumperet, circa Murenae Caepionisque coniurationis
tempus, abhinc annos quinquaginta, M. Marcellus,
sororis Augusti Octaviae filius, quem homines ita, si
quid accidisset Caesari, successorem potentiae eius
arbitrabantur futurum, ut tamen id per M. Agrippam
securo ei posse contingere non existimarent, magnificentissimo munere aedilitatis edito decessit admodum iuvenis, sane, ut aiunt, ingenuarum virtutum
laetusque animi et ingenii fortunaeque, in quam ale-
2 batur, capax. Post cuius obitum Agrippa, qui sub
specie ministeriorum principalium profectus in Asiam,
ut fama loquitur, ob tacitas cum Marcello offensiones
praesenti se subduxerat tempori, reversus inde filiam
Caesaris Iuliam, quam in matrimonio Marcellus habuerat, duxit uxorem, feminam neque sibi neque rei
publicae felicis uteri.

94 Hoc tractu temporum Ti. Claudius Nero, quo trimo,
ut praediximus, Livia, Drusi Claudiani filia, despondente Ti. Nerone, cui ante nupta fuerat, Caesari nupse-
2 rat, innutritus caelestium praeceptorum disciplinis,

iuvenis genere, forma, celsitudine corporis, optimis studiis maximoque ingenio instructissimus, qui protinus, quantus est, sperari potuerat visuque praetulerat principem, quaestor undevicesimum annum agens 3
capessere coepit rem publicam maximamque difficultatem annonae ac rei frumentariae inopiam ita Ostiae atque in urbe mandatu vitrici moderatus est, ut per id, quod agebat, quantus evasurus esset, eluceret. Nec 4
multo post missus ab eodem vitrico cum exercitu ad visendas ordinandasque, quae sub Oriente sunt, provincias, praecipuis omnium virtutum experimentis in eo tractu editis, cum legionibus ingressus Armeniam, redacta ea in potestatem populi Romani regnum eius Artavasdi dedit. Quin rex quoque Parthorum tanti nominis fama territus liberos suos ad Caesarem misit obsides.

Reversum inde Neronem Caesar haud mediocris 95
belli mole experiri statuit, adiutore operis dato fratre ipsius Druso Claudio, quem intra Caesaris penates enixa erat Livia. Quippe uterque e diversis partibus 2
Raetos Vindelicosque adgressi, multis urbium et castellorum oppugnationibus nec non derecta quoque acie feliciter functi gentes locis tutissimas, aditu difficillimas, numero frequentes, feritate truces maiore cum periculo quam damno Romani exercitus, plurimo cum earum sanguine perdomuerunt. Ante quae tem- 3
pora censura Planci et Pauli acta inter discordiam neque ipsis honori neque rei publicae usui fuerat, cum alteri vis censoria, alteri vita deesset, Paulus vix posset implere censorem, Plancus timere deberet, nec quidquam obiicere posset adulescentibus aut obiicientes audire, quod non agnosceret senex.

96 Mors deinde Agrippae, qui novitatem suam multis rebus nobilitaverat atque in hoc perduxerat, ut et Neronis esset socer, cuiusque liberos nepotes suos divus Augustus praepositis Gai ac Lucii nominibus adoptaverat, admovit propius Neronem Caesari: quippe filia Iulia eius, quae fuerat Agrippae nupta, Neroni
2 nupsit. Subinde bellum Pannonicum, quod inchoatum ab Agrippa Marcoque Vinicio, avo tuo, consulari magnum atroxque et perquam vicinum imminebat
3 Italiae, per Neronem gestum est. Gentes Pannoniorum Delmatarumque nationes situmque regionum ac fluminum numerumque et modum virium excelsissimasque et multiplices eo bello victorias tanti imperatoris alio loco explicabimus: hoc opus servet formam suam. Huius victoriae compos Nero ovans triumphavit.

97 Sed dum in hac parte imperii omnia geruntur prosperrime, accepta in Germania clades sub legato M. Lollio, homine in omnia pecuniae quam recte faciendi cupidiore et inter summam vitiorum dissimulationem vitiosissimo, amissaque legionis quintae aquila vocavit ab
2 urbe in Gallias Caesarem. Cura deinde atque onus Germanici belli delegata Druso Claudio, fratri Neronis, adulescenti tot tantarumque virtutum, quot et quantas natura mortalis recipit vel industria perficit. Cuius ingenium utrum bellicis magis operibus an
3 civilibus suffecerit artibus, in incerto est: morum certe dulcedo ac suavitas et adversus amicos aequa ac par sui aestimatio inimitabilis fuisse dicitur; nam pulchritudo corporis proxima fraternae fuit. Sed illum magna ex parte domitorem Germaniae, plurimo eius gentis variis in locis profuso sanguine, fatorum

iniquitas consulem, agentem annum tricesimum, ra-
puit. Moles deinde eius belli translata in Neronem 4
est: quod is sua et virtute et fortuna administravit
peragratusque victor omnis partis Germaniae sine ullo
detrimento commissi exercitus, quod praecipue huic
duci semper curae fuit, sic perdomuit eam, ut in for-
mam paene stipendiariae redigeret provinciae. Tum
alter triumphus cum altero consulatu ei oblatus est.

Dum ea, quae praediximus, in Pannonia Germania- 98
que geruntur, atrox in Thracia bellum ortum, omnibus
eius gentis nationibus in arma accensis, L. Pisonis,
quem hodieque diligentissimum atque eundem lenissi-
mum securitatis urbanae custodem habemus, virtus
compressit, (quippe legatus Caesaris triennio cum iis 2
bellavit gentesque ferocissimas plurimo cum earum
excidio nunc acie, nunc expugnationibus in pristinum
pacis redegit modum) eiusque patratione Asiae securi-
tatem, Macedoniae pacem reddidit. De quo viro hoc 3
omnibus sentiendum ac praedicandum est, esse mores
eius vigore ac lenitate mixtissimos et vix quemquam
reperiri posse, qui aut otium validius diligat aut faci-
lius sufficiat negotio et magis quae agenda sunt curet
sine ulla ostentatione agendi.

Brevi interiecto spatio Ti. Nero duobus consulatibus 99
totidemque triumphis actis tribuniciae potestatis con-
sortione aequatus Augusto, civium post unum, et hoc,
quia volebat, eminentissimus, ducum maximus, fama
fortunaque celeberrimus et vere alterum rei publicae
lumen et caput, mira quadam et incredibili atque in- 2
enarrabili pietate, cuius causae mox detectae sunt,
cum Gaius Caesar sumpsisset iam virilem togam,
Lucius item maturus esset viribus, ne fulgor suus

orientium iuvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa
consilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem
vitrico adquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit.
3 Quis fuerit eo tempore civitatis habitus, qui singulo-
rum animi, quae digredientium a tanto viro omnium
lacrimae, quam paene ei patria manum iniecerit, iusto
4 servemus operi: illud etiam in hoc transcursu dicen-
dum est, ita septem annos Rhodi moratum, ut omnes,
qui pro consulibus legatique in transmarinas *sunt*
profecti provincias, visendi eius gratia *Rhodum de-
verterint* atque eum convenientes semper privato,
si illa maiestas privata umquam fuit, fasces suos
summiserint fassique sint otium eius honoratius
imperio suo.

100 Sensit terrarum orbis digressum a custodia Nero-
nem urbis: nam et Parthus desciscens a societate
Romana adiecit Armeniae manum et Germania aver-
2 sis domitoris sui oculis rebellavit. At in urbe eo
ipso anno, quo magnificentissimis gladiatorii muneris
naumachiaeque spectaculis divus Augustus abhinc an-
nos triginta se et Gallo Caninio consulibus, dedicato
Martis templo animos oculosque populi Romani re-
pleverat, foeda dictu memoriaque horrenda in ipsius
3 domo tempestas erupit. Quippe filia eius Iulia, per
omnia tanti parentis ac viri immemor, nihil, quod
facere aut pati turpiter posset femina, luxuria libidi-
neve infectum reliquit magnitudinemque fortunae
suae peccandi licentia metiebatur, quidquid liberet
4 pro licito vindicans. Tum Iulus Antonius, singulare
exemplum clementiae Caesaris, violator eius domus,
ipse sceleris a se commissi ultor fuit (quem victo eius
patre non tantum incolumitate donaverat, sed sacer-

dotio, praetura, consulatu, provinciis honoratum, etiam
matrimonio sororis suae filiae in artissimam adfinita-
tem receperat), Quintiusque Crispinus, singularem 5
nequitiam supercilio truci protegens, et Appius Clau-
dius et Sempronius Gracchus ac Scipio aliique minoris
nominis utriusque ordinis viri, quasi cuiuslibet uxore
violata, poenas pependere, cum Caesaris filiam et Nero-
nis violassent coniugem. Iulia relegata in insulam
patriaeque et parentum subducta oculis, quam tamen
comitata mater Scribonia voluntaria exilii permansit
comes.

Breve ab hoc intercesserat spatium, cum C. Caesar **101**
ante aliis provinciis ad visendum obitis in Syriam
missus, convento prius Ti. Nerone, cui omnem hono-
rem ut superiori habuit, tam varie se ibi gessit, ut
nec laudaturum magna nec vituperaturum mediocris
materia deficiat. Cum rege Parthorum, iuvene excel-
sissimo, in insula, quam amnis Euphrates ambiebat,
aequato utriusque partis numero coiit. Quod specta- 2
culum stantis ex diverso hinc Romani, illinc Partho-
rum exercitus, cum duo inter se eminentissima imperi-
orum et hominum coirent capita, perquam clarum et
memorabile sub initia stipendiorum meorum tribuno
militum mihi visere contigit: quem militiae gradum 3
ante sub patre tuo, M. Vinici, et P. Silio auspicatus
in Thracia Macedoniaque, mox Achaia Asiaque et
omnibus ad Orientem visis provinciis et ore atque
utroque maris Pontici latere, haud iniucunda tot
rerum, locorum, gentium, urbium recordatione perfruor.
Prior Parthus apud Gaium in nostra ripa, posterior
hic apud regem in hostili epulatus est.

Quo tempore M. Lollii, quem veluti moderatorem **102**

iuventae filii sui Augustus esse voluerat, perfida et plena subdoli ac versuti animi consilia, per Parthum indicata Caesari, fama vulgavit: cuius mors intra paucos dies *secuta* fortuita an voluntaria fuerit ignoro. Sed quam hunc decessisse laetati homines, tam paulo post obiisse Censorinum in iisdem provinciis graviter tulit civitas, virum demerendis hominibus genitum.
2 Armeniam deinde *Gaius* ingressus prima parte introitus prospere *rem* gessit; mox in conloquio, cui se temere crediderat, circa Artageram graviter a quodam, nomine Adduo, vulneratus, ex eo ut corpus minus habile, ita animum minus utilem rei publicae habere
3 coepit. Nec defuit conversatio hominum vitia eius adsentatione alentium (etenim semper magnae fortunae comes adest adulatio), per quae eo ductus erat, ut in ultimo ac remotissimo terrarum orbis angulo consenescere quam Romam regredi mallet. Deinde reluctatus invitusque revertens in Italiam in urbe Lyciae (Limyra nominant) morbo obiit, cum ante annum ferme Lucius Caesar frater eius Hispanias petens Massiliae decessisset.

103 Sed fortuna, quae subduxerat spem magni nominis, iam tum rei publicae sua praesidia reddiderat: quippe ante utriusque horum obitum patre tuo P. Vinicio consule Ti. Nero reversus Rhodo incredibili laetitia
2 patriam repleverat. Non est diu cunctatus Caesar Augustus; neque enim quaerendus erat quem legeret,
3 sed legendus qui eminebat. Itaque quod post Lucii mortem adhuc Gaio vivo facere voluerat atque vehementer repugnante Nerone erat inhibitus, post utriusque adulescentium obitum facere perseveravit, ut et tribuniciae potestatis consortionem Neroni constitue-

ret, multum quidem eo cum domi tum in senatu recusante, et eum Aelio Cato C. Sentio consulibus V. Kal. Iulias, post urbem conditam annis septingentis quinquaginta quattuor, abhinc annos septem et viginti
adoptaret. Laetitiam illius diei concursumque civita- 4
tis et vota paene inserentium caelo manus spemque conceptam perpetuae securitatis aeternitatisque Romani imperii vix in illo iusto opere abunde persequi
poterimus, nedum hic implere temptemus, *contenti* id 5
unum dixisse quam ille omnibus *faustus* fuerit. Tum refulsit certa spes liberorum parentibus, viris matrimoniorum, dominis patrimonii, omnibus hominibus salutis, quietis, pacis, tranquillitatis, adeo ut nec plus sperari potuerit nec spei responderi felicius.

Adoptatus eadem die etiam M. Agrippa, quem post **104**
mortem Agrippae Iulia enixa erat, sed in Neronis adoptione illud adiectum his ipsis Caesaris verbis:
hoc, inquit, rei publicae causa facio. Non diu vindi- 2
cem custodemque imperii sui morata in urbe patria protinus in Germaniam misit, ubi ante triennium sub M. Vinicio, avo tuo, clarissimo viro, immensum exarserat bellum. Erat id ab eo quibusdam in locis gestum, quibusdam sustentatum feliciter eoque nomine decreta ei cum speciosissima inscriptione operum ornamenta triumphalia. Hoc tempus me, functum ante 3
tribunatu, castrorum Ti. Caesaris militem fecit: quippe protinus ab adoptione missus cum eo praefectus equitum in Germaniam, successor officii patris mei, caelestissimorum eius operum per annos continuos novem praefectus aut legatus spectator et pro captu mediocritatis meae adiutor fui. Neque illi spectaculo, quo fructus sum, simile condicio mortalis

recipere videtur mihi, cum per celeberrimam Italiae partem tractumque omnem Galliae provinciarum veterem imperatorem et ante meritis ac virtutibus quam nomine Caesarem revisentes sibi quisque quam illi
4 gratularentur plenius. At vero militum conspectu eius elicitae gaudio lacrimae alacritasque et salutationis nova quaedam exultatio et contingendi manum cupiditas non continentium, protinus quin adiicerent, 'videmus te, imperator? salvum recepimus?' ac deinde 'ego tecum, imperator, in Armenia, ego in Raetia fui, ego a te in Vindelicis, ego in Pannonia, ego in Germania donatus sum' neque verbis exprimi et fortasse vix mereri fidem potest.

105 Intrata protinus Germania, subacti Canninefates, Attuarii, Bructeri, recepti Cherusci (gentis eius Arminius mox nostra clade nobilis), transitus Visurgis, penetrata ulteriora, cum omnem partem asperrimi et periculosissimi belli Caesar vindicaret sibi, iis, quae minoris erant discriminis, Sentium Saturninum, qui
2 iam legatus patris eius in Germania fuerat, praefecisset, virum multiplicem virtutibus, gnavum, agilem, providum militariumque officiorum patientem ac peritum pariter, sed eundem, ubi negotia fecissent locum otio, liberaliter lauteque eo abutentem, ita tamen, ut eum splendidum atque hilarem potius quam luxuriosum ac desidem diceres: de cuius viri claro ingenio
3 celebrique consulatu praediximus. Anni eius aestiva usque in mensem Decembrem producta inmanis emolumentum fecere victoriae. Pietas sua Caesarem paene obstructis hieme Alpibus in urbem traxit, at tutela imperii eum veris initio reduxit in Germaniam, in cuius mediis finibus ad caput Lupiae fluminis hiberna digrediens princeps locaverat.

Pro dii boni, quanti voluminis opera insequenti 106
aestate sub duce Tiberio Caesare gessimus! Perlu-
strata armis tota Germania est, victae gentes paene
nominibus incognitae, receptae Cauchorum nationes:
omnis eorum iuventus infinita numero, immensa cor-
poribus, situ locorum tutissima traditis armis una cum
ducibus suis saepta fulgenti armatoque militum no-
strorum agmine ante imperatoris procubuit tribunal.
Fracti Langobardi, gens etiam Germana feritate fero- 2
cior; denique quod numquam antea spe conceptum,
nedum opere temptatum erat, ad quadringentesimum
miliarium a Rheno usque ad flumen Albim, qui Semno-
num Hermundurorumque fines praeterfluit, Romanus
cum signis perductus exercitus. Et eodem mira feli- 3
citate et cura ducis, temporum quoque observantia
classis, quae Oceani circumnavigaverat sinus, ab inau-
dito atque incognito ante mari flumine Albi subvecta,
plurimarum gentium victoria *parta* cum abundantis-
sima rerum omnium copia exercitui Caesarique se
iunxit.

Non tempero mihi quin tantae rerum magnitudini 107
hoc, qualecumque est, inseram. Cum citeriorem ripam
praedicti fluminis castris occupassemus et ulterior
armata hostium iuventute fulgeret, sub omnem motum
*conatum*que nostrarum navium protinus refugientium,
unus e barbaris aetate senior, corpore excellens, digni-
tate, quantum ostendebat cultus, eminens, cavatum, ut
illis mos est, ex materia conscendit alveum solusque
id navigii genus temperans ad medium processit flu-
minis et petiit, liceret sibi sine periculo in eam, quam
armis tenebamus, egredi ripam ac videre Caesarem. 2
Data petenti facultas. Tum adpulso lintre et diu taci-

tus contemplatus Caesarem, nostra quidem, inquit, furit iuventus, quae cum vestrum numen absentium colat, praesentium potius arma metuit quam sequitur fidem. Sed ego beneficio ac permissu tuo, Caesar, quos ante audiebam, hodie vidi deos, nec feliciorem ullum vitae meae aut optavi aut sensi diem. Impetratoque ut manum contingeret, reversus in naviculam, sine fine respectans Caesarem ripae suorum adpulsus
3 est. Victor omnium gentium locorumque, quos adierat Caesar, [cum] incolumi inviolatoque et semel tantummodo magna cum clade hostium fraude eorum temptato exercitu in hiberna legiones reduxit, eadem qua priore anno festinatione urbem petens.

108 Nihil erat iam in Germania, quod vinci posset, praeter gentem Marcomannorum, quae Maroboduo duce excita sedibus suis atque in interiora refugiens
2 incinctos Hercynia silva campos incolebat. Nulla festinatio huius viri mentionem transgredi debet. Maroboduus, genere nobilis, corpore praevalens, animo ferox, natione magis quam ratione barbarus, non tumultuarium neque fortuitum neque mobilem et ex voluntate parentium constantem inter suos occupavit principatum, sed certum imperium vimque regiam complexus animo statuit avocata procul a Romanis gente sua eo progredi, ubi cum propter potentiora arma refugisset, sua faceret potentissima. Occupatis igitur, quos praediximus, locis finitimos omnis aut bello domuit aut condicionibus iuris sui fecit.

109 Corpus suum custodientium imperium, perpetuis exercitiis paene ad Romanae disciplinae formam redactum, brevi in eminens et nostro quoque imperio timendum perduxit fastigium gerebatque se ita adversus

Romanos, ut neque bello nos *lacesseret, et si* lacesseretur, superesse sibi vim ac voluntatem resistendi *ostenderet.* 2 Legati, quos mittebat ad Caesares, interdum ut supplicem commendabant, interdum ut pro pari loquebantur. Gentibus hominibusque a nobis desciscentibus erat apud eum perfugium, *in* totumque ex male dissimulato agebat aemulum; exercitumque, quem septuaginta milium peditum, quattuor equitum fecerat, adsiduis adversus finitimos bellis exercendo maiori quam, quod habebat, operi praeparabat: eratque 3 etiam eo timendus, quod cum Germaniam ad laevam et in fronte, Pannoniam ad dextram, a tergo sedium suarum haberet Noricos, tamquam in omnes semper venturus ab omnibus timebatur. Nec securam incre- 4 menti sui patiebatur esse Italiam, quippe cum a summis Alpium iugis, quae finem Italiae terminant, initium eius finium haud multo plus ducentis milibus passuum abesset. Hunc virum et hanc regionem proximo anno 5 diversis e partibus Ti. Caesar adgredi statuit. Sentio Saturnino mandatum, ut per Cattos excisis continentibus Hercyniae silvis legiones Boiohaemum (id regioni, quam incolebat Maroboduus, nomen est), ipse a Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni proximus ab hac parte erat, exercitum, qui in Illyrico merebat, ducere in Marcomannos orsus est.

Rumpit interdum, *interdum* moratur proposita homi- **110** num fortuna. Praeparaverat iam hiberna Caesar ad Danuvium admotoque exercitu non plus quam quinque dierum iter a primis hostium *aberat, legionesque quas* 2 Saturninum admovere placuerat, paene aequali divisae intervallo ab hoste intra paucos dies in praedicto loco cum Caesare se iuncturae erant, cum universa Panno-

nia, insolens longae pacis bonis et adulta viribus, Del-
matia omnibusque tractus eius gentibus in societatem
3 adductis consilii, arma corripuit. Tum necessaria
gloriosis praeposita neque tutum visum abdito in
interiora exercitu vacuam tam vicino hosti relinquere
Italiam. Gentium nationumque, quae rebellaverant,
omnis numerus amplius octingentis milibus explebat;
ducenta fere peditum colligebantur armis habilia,
4 equitum novem. Cuius immensae multitudinis, pa-
rentis acerrimis ac peritissimis ducibus, pars petere
Italiam decreverat iunctam sibi Nauporti ac Tergestis
confinio, pars in Macedoniam se effuderat, pars suis
sedibus praesidium esse destinaverat. Maxima Batoni
5 ac Pinneti ducibus auctoritas erat. [In] omnibus autem
Pannoniis non disciplinae tantummodo, sed linguae
quoque notitia Romanae, plerisque etiam litterarum
usus et familiaris armorum erat exercitatio: itaque
hercules nulla umquam natio tam mature consilio
6 belli bellum iunxit ac decreta patravit. Oppressi
cives Romani, trucidati negotiatores, magnus vexilla-
riorum numerus ad internecionem ea in regione, quae
plurimum ab imperatore aberat, caesus, occupata
armis Macedonia, omnia et in omnibus locis igni
ferroque vastata. Quin etiam tantus huius belli
metus fuit, ut stabilem illum et firmatum tantorum
bellorum experientia Caesaris Augusti animum quate-
ret atque terreret.

111 Habiti itaque dilectus, revocati undique et omnes
veterani, viri feminaeque ex censu libertinum coactae
dare militem. Audita in senatu vox principis, de-
cimo die, ni caveretur, posse hostem in urbis Romae
venire conspectum. Senatorum equitumque Romano-

rum exactae ad id bellum operae: *prompte* pollicitati.
Omnia haec frustra praeparassemus, nisi qui illa rege- 2
ret fuisset. Itaque ut praesidium ultimum res publica
ab Augusto ducem in bellum poposcit Tiberium.
Habuit in hoc quoque bello mediocritas nostra speciosi 3
ministerii locum. Finita equestri militia designatus
quaestor necdum senator aequatus senatoribus, etiam
designatis tribunis plebei, partem exercitus ab urbe
traditi ab Augusto perduxi ad filium eius. In quae- 4
stura deinde remissa sorte provinciae legatus eiusdem
ad eundem missus sum. Quas nos primo anno acies
hostium vidimus! quantis prudentia ducis opportuni-
tatibus fruentes eorum vires universas elusimus, *fudi-
mus* partibus! quanto cum temperamento simul civili-
tatis res auctoritate imperatoria agi vidimus! qua pru-
dentia hiberna disposita sunt! quanto opere inclusus
custodiis exercitus nostri, ne qua posset erumpere
inopsque copiarum et intra se furens viribus hostis
elanguesceret!

Felix eventu, forte conatu prima aestate belli Messa- **112**
lini opus mandandum est memoriae. Qui vir animo 2
etiam quam gente nobilior dignissimusque, qui et
patrem Corvinum habuisset et cognomen suum Cottae
fratri relinqueret, praepositus Illyrico subita rebellione
cum semiplena legione vicesima circumdatus hostili
exercitu amplius viginti milia [hostium] fudit fuga-
vitque et ob id ornamentis triumphalibus honoratus
est. Ita placebat barbaris numerus suus, ita fiducia 3
virium, ut ubicumque Caesar esset, nihil in se repone-
rent. Pars exercitus eorum, proposita ipsi duci et ad
arbitrium utilitatemque nostram macerata perductaque
ad exitiabilem famem, neque instantes sustinere neque

cum facientibus copiam pugnandi derigentibusque
aciem ausa congredi occupato monte Claudio muniti-
4 one se defendit. At ea pars, quae obviam se effuderat
exercitui, quem A. Caecina et Silvanus Plautius con-
sulares ex transmarinis adducebant provinciis, circum-
fusa quinque legionibus nostris auxiliaribusque et equi-
tatui regio (quippe magnam Thracum manum iunctus
praedictis ducibus Rhoemetalces, Thraciae rex, in
adiutorium eius belli secum trahebat) paene exitiabi-
5 lem omnibus cladem intulit: fugata regiorum eque-
stris acies, fugatae alae, conversae cohortes sunt, apud
signa quoque legionum trepidatum. Sed Romani
virtus militis plus eo tempore vindicavit gloriae quam
ducibus reliquit, qui multum a more imperatoris sui
discrepantes ante in hostem inciderunt, quam per ex-
6 ploratores, ubi hostis esset, cognoscerent. Iam igitur
in dubiis rebus semet ipsae legiones adhortatae, iugu-
latis ab hoste quibusdam tribunis militum, interempto
praefecto castrorum praefectisque cohortium, non in-
cruentis centurionibus, e quibus etiam primi ordines
cecidere, invasere hostes nec sustinuisse contenti per-
rupta eorum acie ex insperato victoriam vindicave-
7 runt. Hoc fere tempore Agrippa, qui eodem die quo
Tiberius adoptatus ab avo suo naturali erat et iam
ante biennium, qualis esset, apparere coeperat, mira
pravitate animi atque ingenii in praecipitia conversus
patris atque eiusdem avi sui animum alienavit sibi,
moxque crescentibus in dies vitiis dignum furore suo
habuit exitum.

113 Accipe nunc, M. Vinici, tantum in bello ducem,
quantum in pace vides principem. Iunctis exerciti-
bus, quique sub Caesare fuerant quique ad eum vene-

rant, contractisque in una castra decem legionibus, septuaginta amplius cohortibus, decem alis et pluribus quam decem veteranorum milibus, ad hoc magno voluntariorum numero frequentique equite regio, tanto denique exercitu, quantus nullo umquam loco post bella fuerat civilia, omnes eo ipso laeti erant maximamque fiduciam victoriae in numero reponebant. At impera- 2
tor, optimus eorum quae agebat iudex et utilia speciosis praeferens quodque semper eum facientem vidi in omnibus bellis, quae probanda essent, non quae utique probarentur sequens, paucis diebus exercitum, qui venerat, ad refovendas ex itinere eius vires moratus, cum eum maiorem, quam ut temperari posset, neque habilem gubernaculo cerneret, dimittere statuit; pro-
secutusque longo et perquam laborioso itinere, cuius 3
difficultas narrari vix potest, ut neque universos quisquam auderet adgredi et partem digredientium, suorum quisque metu finium, universi temptare non possent, remisit eo, unde venerant, et ipse asperrimae hiemis initio regressus Sisciam legatos, inter quos ipsi fuimus, partitis praefecit hibernis.

O rem dictu non eminentem, sed solida veraque **114**
virtute atque utilitate maximam, experientia suavissimam, humanitate singularem! Per omne belli Germanici Pannonicique tempus nemo e nobis gradumve nostrum aut praecedentibus aut sequentibus imbecillus fuit, cuius salus ac valetudo non ita sustentaretur Caesaris cura, tamquam distractissimus ille tantorum onerum mole huic uni negotio vacaret animus. Erat 2
desiderantibus paratum iunctum vehiculum, lectica eius publicata, cuius *usum* cum alii tum ego sensi: iam medici, iam apparatus cibi, iam in hoc solum una por-

tatum instrumentum balinei nullius non succurrit valetudini: domus tantum ac domestici deerant, ceterum nihil, quod ab illis aut praestari aut desiderari posset.
3 Adiciam illud, quod, quisquis illis temporibus interfuit, ut alia, quae retuli, agnoscet protinus: solus semper equo vectus est, solus cum iis, quos invitaverat, maiore parte aestivarum expeditionum cenavit sedens: non sequentibus disciplinam, quatenus exemplo non nocebatur, ignovit; admonitio frequens, interdum et castigatio, vindicta tamen rarissima, agebatque medium, plurima dissimulans, aliqua inhibens.
4 Hiems emolumentum patrati belli contulit, sed insequenti aestate omnis Pannonia reliquiis totius belli in Delmatia manentibus pacem petiit. Ferocem illam tot milium iuventutem, paulo ante servitutem minatam Italiae, conferentem arma, quibus usa erat, apud flumen nomine Bathinum prosternentemque se universam genibus imperatoris, Batonemque et Pinnetem excelsissimos duces, captum *alterum*, alterum a se deditum iustis voluminibus ordine narrabimus, ut
5 spero. Autumno victor in hiberna reducitur exercitus, cuius omnibus copiis a Caesare M. Lepidus praefectus est, vir nomini ac fortunae Caesarum proximus, quem in quantum quisque aut cognoscere aut intellegere potuit, in tantum miratur ac diligit tantorumque nominum, quibus ortus est, ornamentum iudicat.

115 Caesar ad alteram belli Delmatici molem animum atque arma contulit. In qua regione quali adiutore legatoque fratre meo Magio Celere Velleiano usus sit, ipsius patrisque eius praedicatione testatum est et amplissimorum honorum, quibus triumphans eum
2 Caesar donavit, signat memoria. Initio aestatis Lepi-

dus educto hibernis exercitu per gentis integras immu-
nesque adhuc clade belli et eo feroces ac truces tendens
ad Tiberium imperatorem et cum difficultate locorum
et cum vi hostium luctatus, magna cum clade obsi-
stentium excisis agris, exustis aedificiis, caesis viris,
laetus victoria praedaque onustus pervenit ad Cae-
sarem, et ob ea, quae si propriis gessisset auspiciis, 3
triumphare debuerat, ornamentis triumphalibus con-
sentiente cum iudicio principum voluntate senatus
donatus est. Illa aestas maximi belli consummavit 4
effectus: quippe Perustae et Desidiates Delmatae,
situ locorum ac montium, ingeniorum ferocia, mira
etiam pugnandi scientia et praecipue angustiis sal-
tuum paene inexpugnabiles, non iam ductu, sed mani-
bus atque armis ipsius Caesaris tum demum pacati
sunt, cum paene funditus eversi forent. Nihil in hoc 5
tanto bello, nihil in Germania aut videre maius aut
mirari magis potui, quam quod imperatori numquam
adeo ulla opportuna visa est victoriae occasio, quam
damno amissi pensaret militis semperque visum est
gloriosissimum, quod esset tutissimum, et ante con-
scientiae quam famae consultum nec umquam consilia
ducis iudicio exercitus, sed exercitus providentia ducis
rectus est.

Magna in bello Delmatico experimenta virtutis in **116**
incultos ac difficilis locos praemissus Germanicus de-
dit; celebri etiam opera diligentique Vibius Postumus 2
vir consularis, praepositus Delmatiae ornamenta meruit
triumphalia: quem honorem ante paucos annos Passie-
nus et Cossus, viri [quibusdam] diversis virtutibus
celebres, in Africa meruerant. Sed Cossus victoriae
testimonium etiam in cognomen filii contulit, adule-

3 scentis in omnium virtutum exempla geniti. At Po-
stumi operum L. Apronius particeps illa quoque mili-
tia eos, quos mox consecutus est, honores excellenti
virtute meruit. Utinam non maioribus experimentis
testatum esset, quantum in omni re fortuna posset!
sed in hoc quoque genere abunde agnosci vis eius
potest. Nam et Aelius Lamia, vir antiquissimi moris
et priscam gravitatem semper humanitate temperans,
in Germania Illyricoque et mox in Africa splendidis-
simis functus ministeriis, non merito, sed materia
4 adipiscendi triumphalia defectus est, et A. Licinius
Nerva Silianus, P. Silii filius, quem virum ne qui intel-
lexit quidem abunde miratus est, † ne nihil non optimo
civi simplicissimo duci perisset praeferens, inmatura
morte et fructu amplissimae principis amicitiae et con-
summatione evectae in altissimum paternumque fasti-
5 gium imaginis defectus est. Horum virorum mentioni
si quis quaesisse me dicet locum, fatentem arguet;
neque enim iustus sine mendacio candor apud bonos
crimini est.

117 Tantum quod ultimam imposuerat Pannonico ac
Delmatico bello Caesar manum, cum intra quinque
consummati tanti operis dies funestae ex Germania
epistulae *nuntium attulere* caesi Vari trucidatarumque
legionum trium totidemque alarum et sex cohortium,
velut in hoc saltem tantummodo indulgente nobis
fortuna, ne occupato duce . . . sed et causa et persona
2 moram exigit. Varus Quintilius inlustri magis quam
nobili ortus familia, vir ingenio mitis, moribus quietus,
ut corpore, ita animo immobilior, otio magis castro-
rum quam bellicae adsuetus militiae, pecuniae vero
quam non contemptor, Syria, cui praefuerat, declara-

vit, quam pauper divitem ingressus dives pauperem
reliquit; is cum exercitui, qui erat in Germania, prae- 3
esset, concepit esse homines, qui nihil praeter vocem
membraque haberent hominum, quique gladiis domari
non poterant, posse iure mulceri. Quo proposito me- 4
diam ingressus Germaniam velut inter viros pacis
gaudentes dulcedine iurisdictionibus agendoque pro
tribunali ordine trahebat aestiva.

At illi, quod nisi expertus vix credat, in summa feri- **118**
tate versutissimi natumque mendacio genus, simulantes
fictas litium series et nunc provocantes alter alterum
in iurgia, nunc agentes gratias, quod ea Romana iusti-
tia finiret feritasque sua novitate incognitae disciplinae
mitesceret et solita armis discerni iure terminarentur,
in summam socordiam perduxere Quintilium, usque
eo, ut se praetorem urbanum in foro ius dicere, non in
mediis Germaniae finibus exercitui praeesse crederet.
Tum iuvenis genere nobilis, manu fortis, sensu celer, 2
ultra barbarum promptus ingenio, nomine Arminius,
Sigimeri principis gentis eius filius, ardorem animi
vultu oculisque praeferens, adsiduus militiae nostrae
prioris comes, iure etiam civitatis Romanae decus
equestris consecutus gradus, segnitia ducis in occasio-
nem sceleris usus est, haud imprudenter speculatus
neminem celerius opprimi, quam qui nihil timeret, et
frequentissimum initium esse calamitatis securitatem.
Primo igitur paucos, mox pluris in societatem consilii 3
recepit: opprimi posse Romanos et dicit et persuadet,
decretis facta iungit, tempus insidiarum constituit.
Id Varo per virum eius gentis fidelem clarique nomi- 4
nis, Segesten, indicatur. Obstabant iam fata consiliis
omnemque animi eius aciem praestrinxerant: quippe

ita se res habet, ut plerumque cuius fortunam muta-
turus *est* deus, consilia corrumpat efficiatque, quod
miserrimum est, ut, quod accidit, etiam merito acci-
disse videatur et casus in culpam transeat. Negat
itaque se credere speciemque in se benevolentiae ex
merito aestimare profitetur. Nec diutius post pri-
mum indicem secundo relictus locus.

119 Ordinem atrocissimae calamitatis, qua nulla post
Crassi in Parthis damnum in externis gentibus gra-
vior Romanis fuit, iustis voluminibus ut alii, ita
2 nos conabimur exponere: nunc summa deflenda est.
Exercitus omnium fortissimus, disciplina, manu ex-
perientiaque bellorum inter Romanos milites princeps,
marcore ducis, perfidia hostis, iniquitate fortunae cir-
cumventus, cum ne pugnandi quidem aut egrediendi
occasio iis, in quantum voluerant, data esset immunis,
castigatis etiam quibusdam gravi poena, quia Ro-
manis et armis et animis usi fuissent, inclusus silvis,
paludibus, insidiis ab eo hoste ad internecionem truci-
datus est, quem ita semper more pecudum trucida-
verat, ut vitam aut mortem eius nunc ira nunc venia
3 temperaret. Duci plus ad moriendum quam ad pu-
gnandum animi fuit: quippe paterni avitique exempli
4 successor se ipse transfixit. At e praefectis castrorum
duobus quam clarum exemplum L. Eggius, tam turpe
Ceionius prodidit, qui, cum longe maximam partem
absumpsisset acies, auctor deditionis supplicio quam
proelio mori maluit. At Vala Numonius, legatus
Vari, cetera quietus ac probus, diri auctor exempli,
spoliatum equite peditem relinquens fuga cum alis
Rhenum petere ingressus est. Quod factum eius
fortuna ulta est; non enim desertis superfuit, sed

desertor occidit. Vari corpus semiustum hostilis lace- 5
raverat feritas; caput eius abscisum latumque ad Maro-
boduum et ab eo missum ad Caesarem gentilicii tamen
tumuli sepultura honoratum est.

His auditis revolat ad patrem Caesar; perpetuus 120
patronus Romani imperii adsuetam sibi causam sus-
cipit. Mittitur ad Germaniam, Gallias confirmat, dis-
ponit exercitus, praesidia munit et se magnitudine sua,
non fiducia hostis metiens, qui Cimbricam Teutonicam-
que militiam Italiae minabatur, ultro Rhenum cum
exercitu transgreditur. Arma infert, quae arcuisse 2
pater et patria contenti erant; penetrat interius,
aperit limites, vastat agros, urit domos, fundit obvios
maximaque cum gloria, incolumi omnium, quos trans-
duxerat, numero in hiberna revertitur. Reddatur 3
verum L. Asprenati testimonium, qui legatus sub
avunculo suo Varo militans gnava virilique opera
duarum legionum, quibus praeerat, exercitum immu-
nem tanta calamitate servavit matureque ad inferiora
hiberna descendendo vacillantium etiam cis Rhenum
sitarum gentium animos confirmavit. Sunt tamen,
qui ut vivos ab eo vindicatos, ita iugulatorum sub
Varo occupata crediderint patrimonia hereditatemque
occisi exercitus, in quantum voluerit, ab eo aditam.
L. etiam Caedicii praefecti castrorum eorumque, qui 4
una circumdati Alisone immensis Germanorum copiis
obsidebantur, laudanda virtus est, qui omnibus diffi-
cultatibus superatis, quas inopia rerum intolerabilis,
vis hostium faciebat inexsuperabilis, nec temerario
consilio nec segni providentia usi speculatique oppor-
tunitatem ferro sibi ad suos peperere reditum. Ex 5
quo apparet Varum, sane gravem et bonae voluntatis

virum, magis imperatoris defectum consilio quam vir-
tute destitutum militum se magnificentissimumque
6 perdidisse exercitum. Cum in captivos saeviretur a
Germanis, praeclari facinoris auctor fuit Caldus Cae-
lius, adulescens vetustate familiae suae dignissimus,
qui complexus catenarum, quibus vinctus erat, seriem,
ita illas inlisit capiti suo, ut protinus pariter sanguinis
cerebrique effluvio expiraret.

121 Eadem virtus et fortuna subsequenti tempore in-
gressi Germaniam imperatoris Tiberii fuit, quae initio
fuerat. Qui concussis hostium viribus classicis pe-
ditumque expeditionibus, cum res Galliarum maximae
molis accensasque plebis Viennensium dissensiones
coërcitione magis quam poena mollisset, et senatus
populusque Romanus postulante patre eius, ut ae-
quum ei ius in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque
esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset (etenim
absurdum erat non esse sub illo, quae ab illo vindica-
2 bantur, et qui ad opem ferendam primus erat, ad vin-
dicandum honorem non iudicari parem), in urbem re-
versus iam pridem debitum, sed continuatione bellorum
dilatum ex Pannoniis Delmatisque egit triumphum.
3 Cuius magnificentiam quis miretur in Caesare? for-
tunae vero quis non miretur indulgentiam? quippe
omnis eminentissimos hostium duces non occisos fama
narravit, sed vinctos triumphus ostendit; quem mihi
fratrique meo inter praecipuos praecipuisque donis
adornatos viros comitari contigit.

122 Quis non inter reliqua, quibus singularis moderatio
Ti. Caesaris elucet atque eminet, hoc quoque miretur,
quod, cum sine ulla dubitatione septem triumphos
meruerit, tribus contentus fuit? Quis enim dubitare

potest, quin ex Armenia recepta et ex rege praeposito ei, cuius capiti insigne regium sua manu imposuerat, ordinatisque rebus Orientis ovans triumphare debuerit, et Vindelicorum Raetorumque victor curru urbem
ingredi? fractis deinde post adoptionem continua 2
triennii militia Germaniae viribus idem illi honor et deferendus et recipiendus fuerit? et post cladem sub Varo acceptam, *expectato* ocius prosperrimo rerum eventu eadem excisa Germania triumphus summi ducis adornari debuerit? Sed in hoc viro nescias, utrum magis mireris, quod laborum periculorumque semper excessit modum, an quod honorum temperavit.

Venitur ad tempus, in quo fuit plurimum metus. **123**
Quippe Caesar Augustus cum Germanicum nepotem suum reliqua belli patraturum misisset in Germaniam, Tiberium autem filium missurus esset in Illyricum ad firmanda pace quae bello subegerat, prosequens eum simulque interfuturus athletarum certaminis ludicro, quod eius honori sacratum a Neapolitanis est, processit in Campaniam. Quamquam iam motus imbecillitatis inclinataeque in deterius principia valetudinis senserat, tamen obnitente vi animi prosecutus filium digressusque ab eo Beneventi ipse Nolam petiit: et ingravescente in dies valetudine, cum sciret, quis volenti omnia post se salva remanere accersendus foret, festinanter revocavit filium; ille ad patrem
patriae expectato revolavit maturius. Tum securum 2
se Augustus praedicans circumfususque amplexibus Tiberii sui, commendans illi sua atque ipsius opera nec quidquam iam de fine, si fata poscerent, recusans, subrefectus primo conspectu alloquioque carissimi sibi spiritus, mox, cum omnem curam fata vincerent,

in sua resolutus initia Pompeio Apuleioque consulibus septuagesimo sexto anno animam caelestem caelo reddidit.

124 Quid tunc homines timuerint, quae senatus trepidatio, quae populi confusio, quis urbis metus, in quam arto salutis exitiique fuerimus confinio, neque mihi tam festinanti exprimere vacat neque cui vacat potest. Id solum voce publica dixisse *satis* habeo: cuius orbis ruinam timueramus, eum ne commotum quidem sensimus, tantaque unius viri maiestas fuit, ut nec bonis
2 . . . neque contra malos opus armis foret. Una tamen veluti luctatio civitatis fuit, pugnantis cum Caesare senatus populique Romani, ut stationi paternae succederet, illius, ut potius aequalem civem quam eminentem liceret agere principem. Tandem magis ratione quam honore victus est, cum quidquid tuendum non suscepisset, periturum videret, solique huic contigit paene diutius recusare principatum, quam,
3 ut occuparent eum, alii armis pugnaverant. Post redditum caelo patrem et corpus eius humanis honoribus, numen divinis honoratum, primum principalium eius operum fuit ordinatio comitiorum, quam manu sua
4 scriptam divus Augustus reliquerat. Quo tempore mihi fratrique meo, candidatis Caesaris, proxime a nobilissimis ac sacerdotalibus viris destinari praetoribus contigit, consecutis, ut neque post nos quemquam divus Augustus neque ante nos Caesar commendaret Tiberius.

125 Tulit protinus et voti et consilii sui pretium res publica, neque diu latuit aut quid non impetrando passuri fuissemus aut quid impetrando profecissemus. Quippe exercitus, qui in Germania militabat prae-

sentisque Germanici imperio regebatur, simulque legi-
ones, quae in Illyrico erant, rabie quadam et profunda
confundendi omnia cupiditate novum ducem, novum
statum, novam quaerebant rem publicam; quin etiam 2
ausi sunt minari daturos *se* senatui, daturos principi
leges; modum stipendii, finem militiae sibi ipsi consti-
tuere conati sunt: processum etiam in arma ferrumque
strictum est et paene in ultimum gladiorum erupit
impunitas, defuitque, qui contra rem publicam duceret,
non qui sequerentur. Sed haec omnia veteris impera- 3
toris maturitas, multa inhibentis, aliqua cum gravitate
pollicentis, *et* inter severam praecipue noxiorum ulti-
onem mitis aliorum castigatio brevi sopiit ac sustulit.
Quo quidem tempore ut pleraque ignovit Germanicus, 4
ita Drusus, qui a patre in diversum plurimoque idem
igne emicans incendium militaris tumultus missus erat,
prisca antiquaque severitate usus ancipitia sibi maluit
tenere quam exemplo perniciosa, et his ipsis militum
gladiis, quibus obsessus erat, obsidentes coërcuit, sin- 5
gulari adiutore in eo negotio usus Iunio Blaeso, viro
nescias utiliore in castris an meliore in toga: qui post
paucos annos proconsul in Africa ornamenta triumpha-
lia cum appellatione imperatoria meruit. At Hispa-
nias exercitumque *in iis cum M. Lepidus, de cuius*
virtutibus celeberrimaque in Illyrico militia praedixi-
mus, cum imperio obtineret, in summa pace et quiete
continuit, cum ei pietas rectissima sentiendi et auctori-
tas quae sentiebat obtinendi superesset. Cuius curam
ac fidem Dolabella quoque, vir simplicitatis genero-
sissimae, in maritima parte Illyrici per omnia imi-
tatus est.

Horum sedecim annorum opera quis cum in- **126**

serta *sint* oculis animisque omnium, partibus eloqua-
tur? Sacravit parentem suum Caesar non imperio,
sed religione, non appellavit eum, sed fecit deum.
2 Revocata in forum fides, summota e foro seditio,
ambitio campo, discordia curia, sepultaeque ac situ
obsitae iustitia, aequitas, industria civitati redditae;
accessit magistratibus auctoritas, senatui maiestas,
iudiciis gravitas; compressa theatralis seditio, recte
faciendi omnibus aut incussa voluntas aut imposita
3 necessitas: honorantur recta, prava puniuntur, suspicit
potentem humilis, non timet, antecedit, non contem-
nit humiliorem potens. Quando annona moderatior,
quando pax laetior? Diffusa in orientis occidentisque
tractus et quidquid meridiano aut septentrione finitur,
pax augusta [per] omnis terrarum orbis angulos a
4 latrociniorum metu servat immunes. Fortuita non
civium tantummodo, sed urbium damna principis mu-
nificentia vindicat. Restitutae urbes Asiae, vindicatae
ab iniuriis magistratuum provinciae: honor dignis
paratissimus, poena in malos sera, sed aliqua: supe-
5 ratur aequitate gratia, ambitio virtute; nam facere
recte civis suos princeps optimus faciendo docet,
cumque sit imperio maximus, exemplo maior est.

127 Raro eminentes viri non magnis adiutoribus ad
gubernandam fortunam suam usi sunt, ut duo Scipi-
ones duobus Laeliis, quos per omnia aequaverunt sibi,
ut divus Augustus M. Agrippa et proxime ab eo
Statilio Tauro, quibus novitas familiae haut obstitit
quominus ad multiplicis consulatus triumphosque et
2 complura eveherentur sacerdotia. Etenim magna ne-
gotia magnis adiutoribus egent [neque in parvo pau-
citas ministeria defecit], interestque rei publicae quod

usu necessarium est, dignitate eminere utilitatemque
auctoritate muniri. Sub his exemplis Ti. Caesar 3
Seianum Aelium, principe equestris ordinis patre
natum, materno vero genere clarissimas veteresque et
insignes honoribus complexum familias, habentem con-
sularis fratres, consobrinos, avunculum, ipsum vero
laboris ac fidei capacissimum, sufficiente etiam vigori
animi compage corporis, singularem principalium one-
rum adiutorem in omnia habuit atque habet, virum 4
severitatis laetissimae, hilaritatis priscae, actu otiosis
simillimum, nihil sibi vindicantem eoque adsequentem
omnia, semperque infra aliorum aestimationes se meti-
entem, vultu vitaque tranquillum, animo exsomnem.

In huius virtutum aestimatione iam pridem iudicia **128**
civitatis cum iudiciis principis certant; neque novus
hic mos senatus populique Romani est putandi, quod
optimum sit, esse nobilissimum. Nam et illi antiqui,
qui ante bellum Punicum abhinc annos trecentos Ti.
Coruncanium, hominem novum, cum aliis omnibus hono-
ribus tum pontificatu etiam maximo ad principale extu-
lere fastigium, et qui equestri loco natum Sp. Carvilium 2
et mox M. Catonem, novum etiam Tusculo urbis inqui-
linum, Mummiumque Achaicum in consulatus, censu-
ras et triumphos provexere, et qui C. Marium ignotae 3
originis usque ad sextum consulatum sine dubitatione
Romani nominis habuere principem, et qui M. Tullio
tantum tribuere, ut paene adsentatione sua quibus
vellet principatus conciliaret, quique nihil Asinio
Pollioni negaverunt, quod nobilissimis summo cum
sudore consequendum foret, profecto hoc senserunt,
in cuiuscumque animo virtus inesset, ei plurimum
esse tribuendum. Haec naturalis exempli imitatio 4

ad experiendum Seianum Caesarem, ad iuvanda vero onera principis Seianum propulit senatumque et populum Romanum eo perduxit, ut, quod usu optimum intellegit, id in tutelam securitatis suae libenter advocet.

129 Sed proposita quasi universa principatus Ti. Caesaris *forma* singula recenseamus. Qua ille prudentia Rhascupolim, interemptorem fratris sui filii Cotyis consortisque eiusdem imperii, Romam evocavit! singulari in eo negotio usus opera Flacci Pomponii consularis viri, nati ad omnia, quae recte facienda sunt, simplicique virtute merentis semper, numquam cap-
2 tantis gloriam. Cum quanta gravitate ut senator et iudex, non ut princeps, causam Drusi Libonis audivit! Quam celeriter ingratum et nova molientem oppressit! Quibus praeceptis instructum Germanicum suum imbutumque rudimentis militiae secum actae domitorem recepit Germaniae! Quibus iuventam eius exaggeravit honoribus, respondente cultu triumphi rerum, quas
3 gesserat, magnitudini! Quotiens populum congiariis honoravit senatorumque censum, cum id senatu auctore facere potuit, quam libenter explevit, ut neque luxuriam invitaret neque honestam paupertatem pateretur dignitate destitui! Quanto cum honore Germanicum suum in transmarinas misit provincias! Qua vi consiliorum suorum, ministro et adiutore usus Druso filio suo, Maroboduum inhaerentem occupati regni finibus, pace maiestatis eius dixerim, velut serpentem abstrusam terrae salubribus consiliorum suorum medicamentis coëgit egredi! Quam illum ut honorate, sic secure continet! Quantae molis bellum principe Galliarum ciente Sacroviro Floroque Iulio mira celeritate ac virtute compressit, ut ante populus Romanus vicisse se

quam bellare cognosceret nuntiosque periculi victoriae
praecederet nuntius! Magni etiam terroris bellum 4
Africum et cotidiano auctu maius auspiciis consiliis-
que eius brevi sepultum est.

Quanta suo suorumque nomine exstruxit opera! **130**
quam pia munificentia superque humanam evecta
fidem templum patri molitur! Quam magnifico
animi temperamento Cn. quoque Pompei munera
absumpta igni restituit! quidquid enim umquam cla-
ritudine eminuit, id veluti cognatum censet tuendum.
Qua liberalitate cum alias, tum proxime incenso monte 2
Caelio omnis ordinis hominum iacturae patrimonio suc-
currit suo! Quanta cum quiete hominum rem perpetui
praecipuique timoris, supplementum, sine trepidatione
dilectus providet! Si aut natura patitur aut medi- 3
ocritas recipit hominum, audeo cum deis queri: quid
hic meruit, primum ut scelerata Drusus Libo iniret
consilia? deinde ut Silium Pisonemque tam *infestos*
haberet, quorum alterius dignitatem constituit, auxit
alterius? Ut ad maiora transcendam, quamquam et
haec ille duxit maxima, quid, ut iuvenes amitteret
filios? quid, ut nepotem ex Druso suo? Dolenda 4
adhuc retulimus: veniendum ad erubescenda est.
Quantis hoc triennium, M. Vinici, doloribus lacera-
vit animum eius! quam diu abstruso, quod miser-
rimum est, pectus eius flagravit incendio, quod ex
nuru, quod ex nepote dolere, indignari, erubescere
coactus est! Cuius temporis aegritudinem auxit 5
amissa mater, eminentissima et per omnia deis quam
hominibus similior femina, cuius potentiam nemo
sensit nisi aut levatione periculi aut accessione
dignitatis.

131 Voto finiendum volumen est. Iuppiter Capitoline, et auctor ac stator Romani nominis Gradive Mars, perpetuorumque custos Vesta ignium et quidquid numinum hanc Romani imperii molem in amplissimum terrarum orbis fastigium extulit, vos publica voce obtestor atque precor: custodite, servate, pro-
2 tegite hunc statum, hanc pacem, *hunc principem*, eique functo longissima statione mortali destinate successores quam serissimos, sed eos, quorum cervices tam fortiter sustinendo terrarum orbis imperio sufficiant, quam huius suffecisse sensimus, consiliaque omnium civium aut pia *iuvate aut impia confringite.*

NOTES.

In the references to the grammars, A. & G. = Allen & Greenough; G. = Gildersleeve; H. = Harkness.

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41. Julius Caesar, consul. His family and character. He refuses to divorce his wife at Sulla's command. His capture by pirates.

1. **consulatus C. Caesaris**: the first triumvirate was formed by Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, 60 B.C. Caesar was consul in the following year. — **qui scribenti . . . iniicit**: for a similar expression, cf. Val. Max. 4. 1. 15, *Ad externa iam mihi exempla transire conanti M. Bibulus . . . manus iniicit.* — **Hic nobilissima . . . elapsus est**: Velleius is fond of long, involved sentences. *Hic* is the subject of *elapsus est.* — **Iuliorum . . . familia**: cf. Verg. Aen. I. 286–288, *Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar, . . . Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.* — **forma**: *in beauty.* Velleius is fond of the ablative of specification; cf. 73. 1, *cogitatione celer.* He often uses it in the place of the abl. of quality; cf. 117. 2, *vir ingenio mitis*, instead of *vir miti ingenio;* the latter construction he seldom employs. — **vigore animi**: cf. Plin. H. N. 7. 25, *Animi vigore praestantissimum arbitror genitum Caesarem dictatorem. Scribere aut legere, simul dictare et audire solitum accepimus. Epistolas vero tantarum rerum quaternas pariter librariis dictare; aut si nihil aliud ageret, septenas.* — **effusissimus**: for *profusissimus.* Cicero uses it in the same sense; cf. Cic. Cael. 6. 13, *quis in largitione effusior?* — **sed . . . iracundo**: "Alexander was so given to wine that on one occasion, at a banquet, when he was under its influence, he seized a spear and killed Clitus, an old and devoted friend." Delphin.

2. **qui . . . uteretur**: this is a clause of characteristic, and therefore takes the subjunctive. See A. & G. 320; G. 633; H. 503, I.; Roby, II. p. 294. Cf. Liv. 21. 4, concerning Hannibal,

cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate modus finitus. — **cum**: with *fuisset, dimisisset,* and *habuisset,* is concessive. — **C. Mario . . . coniunctissimus**: Julia, Caesar's aunt, married the elder Marius. Her son, *septiens consulis filius* (26. 1), was consul, 82 B.C. Caesar was related "by blood" to the latter, only. For a comparison of Caesar and Marius, see Suet. Caes. 1, *nam Caesari multos Marios inesse.* — **Cinnae**: Cinna was an adherent of Marius in the civil war with Sulla. He was consul four times, 87–84 B.C. He was put to death by his mutinous soldiers when about to cross over to Greece to hold Sulla in check. — **M. Piso consularis**: consul, 61 B.C., and hence the term *consularis* did not belong to him when he divorced Annia. — **in Sullae . . . gratiam**: *in* is here final, *that he might gain the favor of Sulla.* — **dimisisset**: for *dimitto* in the sense of *repudiare, to put away, to divorce,* cf. Suet. Aug. 63, *uxorem . . . dimittere.* — **Sullae**: consul, 88 B.C. His rivalry with Marius led to civil war. Sulla ultimately prevailed, and was made perpetual dictator, 82 B.C. He resigned the dictatorship three years later, and died, 78 B.C. — **eo tempore, quo**: 82 B.C. — **ipso**: sc. *Sulla.* — **habitum**: the object of *indutus*, which is used like the Greek middle. This construction is rare in prose; see A. & G. 240, c, note; G. 332, 2; H. 377.

3. **Idem postea**: for time and order of events, see on *accusatio*, 43. 3. — **iuvenis**: Caesar was about twenty-five at this time. — **terrori venerationique**: cf. Suet. Caes. 4, *mansitque apud eos, non sine summa dignatione, prope quadraginta dies, cum uno medico et cubiculariis duobus.* — **excalcearetur**: medial passive; subjunctive of result, following *ita se . . . gessit.* — **in hoc**: *for this purpose.* Not so used before the time of Livy and the Augustan poets. See Draeger, I. p. 658. — **oculis tantummodo**: he was not bound. Plutarch says: "For thirty-eight days with all the freedom in the world he amused himself with joining in the exercises and games of the pirates, as if they had not been his keepers, but his attendants."

42. Caesar, being ransomed, raises a fleet and punishes the pirates.

1. **quanto opere . . . destituerit**: *with what obstinacy the Roman magistrate who was then governing Asia refused, on account of fear, to second his attempts.* — **Asiam**: Asia, as a

Roman province, included Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia. See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. II. A. — **illud**: *the following.* — **mox**: Velleius uses *mox* in the sense of *postea*, as here, and also with the force of *paulo post*, as in 43. 1; 105. 1; 116. 3. He often employs *mox* after *primo*, as in 51. 2; 63. 1; 68. 2; 82. 2; 118. 3; but in 64. 1, *postea* is used. — **evasuri**: *destined to become.* For a similar use of *evadere*, cf. Cic. de Or. 1. 28. 126, *quos iudicabat non posse oratores evadere.*

2. **nox**: we would expect *nocte quae*, but the antecedent stands in the relative clause and is attracted into the case of the relative. Cf. Verg. Aen. I. 573, *urbem quam statuo vestra est;* and see A. & G. 200, b; G. 618; H. 445, 9. — **eam diem**: *dies* is here fem. Cf. 57. 2, *ea die;* but 86. 1, *ille dies;* 112. 7, *eodem die.* Velleius uses it as masc. or fem. apparently without distinction. — **qua**: its antecedent is *diem.* — **civitatium**: stems in *tat-* have *-um* or *-ium* in the gen. plural. The more common termination is *-um*, but *civitatium* occurs often. See Neue, I.[2] p. 268. — **in eum locum**: cf. Suet. Caes. 4, *circa Pharmacusam insulam.* This island, now *Farnako*, was southwest from Miletus. There were also two small islands of the same name between Salamis and the coast of Attica. — **multosque . . . cepit**: cf. Suet. Caes. 4, *Numeratis deinde quinquaginta talentis, expositus in litore, non distulit, quin e vestigio classe deducta persequeretur abeuntes; ac redactos in potestatem supplicio, quod illis saepe minatus inter iocum fuerat, afficeret.*

3. **in Bithyniam perrexit**: Nicomedes was king of Bithynia at this time. In the year 74 B.C., he left his kingdom by will to the Romans. — **auctor**: cf. Plut. Caes., "He made application to Junius, who was then governor of Asia, to whose office it belonged as praetor, to determine their punishment." — **quippe**: equivalent to *enim.* It is used in this sense by Velleius more than fifty times. He frequently employs it as here, to introduce a parenthetical clause; and with very few exceptions places it at the beginning, whether the clause is parenthetical or not. — **suffixit cruci**: this form of punishment was reserved for slaves and criminals of the worst class.

43. Caesar made priest; returns to Rome; his deeds in the city during his aedileship and praetorship. He is quaestor in Spain.

1. **Cottae**: C. Aurelius Cotta, consul, 75 B.C. — **paene puer**: Caesar was thirteen, if we accept the date usually assigned for his birth, 100 B.C.; Mommsen (Hist. Rome, IV. p. 27) places his birth in the year 102 B.C. — **flamen dialis**: *priest of Jupiter*. Caesar was nominated, but was never installed in office. From the death of Merula, 87 B.C., to 11 B.C. the office was vacant. The duties pertaining to it were performed by the pontifex maximus. See Smith's Dict. Antiq. s.v. *Flamen*. — **victoria**: Sulla returned from the Mithridatic war, 82 B.C. In the following year he completed the overthrow of the Marian party and was made dictator. — **ne conspiceretur a**: *to escape the notice of*. — **quattuor scalmorum navem**: *a four-oared boat*. A *scalmus*, thole-pin, was a smooth peg of wood or iron to which the oar was bound. Found in Cicero; cf. Brut. 53, *in litore ambulans scalmum repperisset*. — **effusissimum**: =*amplissimum*. Cf. Hor. Ep. I. 11. 26, *effusi late maris*; Tac. Ger. 30, *effusis . . . locis*.

3. **nobilissima . . . accusatio**: cf. Suet. Caes. 55, *post accusationem Dolabellae haud dubie principibus patronis adnumeratus est*. Velleius has not followed the generally accepted order of events in Caesar's life. The latter left Rome, 82 B.C., and returned after Sulla's death in 78. In the following year he accused Dolabella of extortion in his province of Macedonia. In 76 B.C. he went to Rhodes to study oratory under Molo, and on the voyage was captured by pirates. He remained in the East about two years and returned to Rome after his election as pontiff. — **maior civitatis in ea favor**: the Delphin edition follows the reading of Heinsius, *in eo*, and has the following note: *Id est, civitas Dolabellae magis favit, quam solet favere reis. Licet enim Dolabellam Caesar accusaret repetundarum, et insectaretur vehementer, non tamen obtinuit ut damnaretur*. — **contentionesque civiles**: for a similar use of *contentio*, cf. Cic. Off. I. 38, *Rectum est . . . in illis contentionibus quae cum inimicissimis fiunt, . . . gravitatem retinere, iracundiam pellere*. There were two factions in Rome at this time; the *optimates*, composed of the followers of Sulla, and the Marian, or popular party. Catulus was the head of the former, Caesar of the latter. — **victus . . . Q. Catulus**: cf. Suet. Caes. 13, *pontificatum maximum petit, non sine profusissima largitione; . . . duos competitores . . . et aetate et dignitate antece-*

dentes superavit. Catulus, who had been consul in 78 B.C., and Isauricus were his competitors. — **senatus princeps**: cf. Sall. Cat. 49, *maximis honoribus usus.*

4. **restituta . . . monumenta**: cf. Suet. Caes. 11, *tropaea C. Marii de Iugurtha deque Cimbris atque Teutonis, olim a Sulla disiecta, restituit;* also Plut. Caes., "He ordered images of Marius, and figures of Victory, with trophies in their hands, to be carried privately in the night, and placed in the capitol." *monumenta* is used in the sense of *tropaea.* — **revocati ad ius . . . liberi**: the children and grandchildren of the men proscribed by Sulla were excluded from political offices, but those of senatorial rank were compelled to bear senatorial burdens; Mommsen. Through Caesar's exertions these disabilities were removed. — **praetura quaesturaque**: Caesar was quaestor at thirty-two; praetor at thirty-eight. — **industria**: this consisted in securing enough plunder in his province to pay off his enormous debts in Rome. — **in Hispania**: he was quaestor in further Spain. He was propraetor in the same province in 61 B.C., at which time his military career began. He conquered the Lusitanians; took Brigantium; and was saluted as *imperator.* — **Vetere Antistio**: the cognomen is placed before the nomen. This occurs often in Velleius when the praenomen is omitted. It is found in Cicero and Tacitus, but is very rare in Caesar and Sallust. See Draeger, Syn. u. Stil des Tac. p. 91. — **huius Veteris . . . pontificis**: *of the present Vetus, formerly consul, now pontiff.* — **sacerdotum**: "The public priests, *sacerdotes*, were divided into three classes: the first class, that of the *sacerdotes publici populi Romani*, formed the great *collegia* of the *pontifices*, comprising the subdivisions of the *VIIviri epulones*, the *XVviri sacris faciundis*, the *Augures*, *Salii*, and *Fetiales;* the second class comprised the *sodalitates*, which had to perform the *sacra popularia;* the third, those officiating at the *sacra gentilitia.*" Guhl & Koner, p. 534. For a distinction between *sacerdotes*, *pontifices*, and *flamines*, see Cic. de Leg. II. 8, *Divisque aliis alii sacerdotes, omnibus pontifices, singulis flamines sunto.* — **viri . . . potest**: *Viri adeo boni, ut non possit cogitari maior in homine candor;* Delphin. — **minus egent**: before *minus* sc. *eo* correlative to *quo.*

44. The first triumvirate, formed by Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus. Caesar's law concerning the division of the Campanian fields. Bibulus' opposition to Caesar. Gaul decreed to Caesar for five years.

1. **Hoc igitur consule**: he was either consul elect, or candidate for the consulship; not actually consul. — **Cn. Pompeium**: Pompey the Great was born 106 B.C., the year of Cicero's birth. He became consul at the age of thirty-six. The rivalry between Pompey and Caesar led to civil war, which culminated in the battle of Pharsalus and death of Pompey, 48 B.C. Cf. 29, *cuius viri magnitudo multorum voluminum instar exigit, . . . innocentia eximius, sanctitate praecipuus, eloquentia medius, potentiae, quae honoris causa ad eum deferretur, non vi ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus, dux bello peritissimus, . . . paene omnium vitiorum expers.* — **M. Crassum**: Crassus was noted for his wealth and for his success as an orator. He was twice Pompey's colleague in the consulship. While proconsul in Syria, he was defeated and slain by the Parthians, 53 B.C. — **inita potentiae societas**: cf. Suet. Caes. 19, *Pompeioque Marcum Crassum reconciliavit, . . . ac societatem cum utroque iniit, ne quid ageretur in re publica, quod displicuisset ulli e tribus.* — **cuique**: i.e. each one of the triumvirs.

2. **Hoc consilium . . . habuerat**: cf. Flor. IV. 2. 11, *Sic igitur Caesare dignitatem comparare, Crasso augere, Pompeio retinere cupientibus omnibusque pariter potentiae cupidis de invadenda re publica facile convenit.* — **acta**: Pompey defeated Mithridates; subdued Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine; founded cities, and regulated the affairs of neighboring kingdoms. Upon his return to Rome he celebrated, for two days, the most splendid triumph that had ever been seen in the city. He asked for land with which to reward his soldiers, and that his acts in the East be ratified. — **praediximus**: in ch. 40. Velleius uses the *pluralis modestiae* very often; cf. 73. 3; 76. 2; 89. 6; 90. 1, et passim. He occasionally uses the singular; cf. *dixerim*, 53. 4; *redderem . . . fraudabo*, 76. 1. Like other historians of the same period he varies between the two; Fritsch. — **invidia**: *unpopularity;* ablative absolute with *relegata*. — **in illum relegata**: post-Augustan; cf. 64. 2, *invidiam in auctorem relegabat.* Cicero uses *derivo;* cf. Ver. II. 20, *te culpam*

derivare in aliquem; Livy, *reicio;* cf. 2. 28, *si . . . invidiam eius consules ad senatum reicerent;* cf. also Tac. Ann. XIII. 43, *scelera ipsa aliis delegent.* — **vires**: Velleius often uses abstracts in the plural. See Introduction, II., Nouns. For a full discussion of the use of abstracts in the plural, see Draeger, I. p. 10 ff.

4. **In hoc consulatu**: for a similar construction, cf. 48. 1; 111. 3; 115. 5; 116. 1. The frequent use of *in* in expressions of time, where the simple ablative might be employed, marks the change from classical to Silver Latin. — **legem tulit**: for an account of this law, see Mommsen, Hist. Rome, IV. p. 244 ff. — **plebei**: dative. *plebes* (*plebs*) varies between the fifth and third declensions. See A. & G. p. 41, foot-note 1; G. 74, B, 5; H. p. 51, foot-note 1. — **suasore . . . Pompeio**: Pompey wished to reward the soldiers that had served with him in Asia with this land. — **ius urbis . . . erat**: concerning the reduction of Capua to a Roman prefecture, Livy (26. 16) says: "All the territory and public buildings of Capua were seized by the Romans. The city was compelled to give up its political rights and privileges and to submit to the government of a prefect sent annually from Rome." — **Capua**: the chief city of Campania. Capua offended the Romans by opening her gates to Hannibal after the battle of Cannae, 216 B.C. Five years later it was retaken by the Romans, who inflicted terrible punishment upon the inhabitants, putting some to death, selling others into slavery, confiscating landed estates, and abolishing the constitution of the Campanian city. — **praefecturae**: The division of the Italian communities, as established by the Roman government, was threefold — Prefectures, Municipal Towns, and Colonies. For a full discussion of these, see Liddell, Rom. Hist. p. 252 ff.

5. **Bibulus**: M. Bibulus, colleague of Caesar in the consulship. Mommsen (Hist. IV. p. 244) speaks of the election of Bibulus, "by means of a bribery for which the whole order of lords contributed the funds, and which excited surprise even in that period of deepest corruption." He characterizes him as one whose "narrow-minded obstinacy" was regarded by the aristocracy as "conservative energy." — **maiore parte anni**: cf. Suet. Caes. 20. For eight months Bibulus refused to take any part in public affairs. Caesar carried his measures in spite of the opposition of the aristocracy by appealing to the people. The ablative *parte* denotes

duration of time. See A. & G. 256, 2, b; G. 392, 2; H. 379, 1. This use of the ablative to denote "time throughout which" is rare except in post-Augustan writers. — **Caesari decretae . . . Galliae**: cf. Suet. Caes. 22, *Et initio quidem Galliam Cisalpinam, Illyrico adiecto, lege Vatinia accepit; mox per senatum Comatam (Transalpinam) quoque, veritis patribus ne, si ipsi negassent, populus et hanc daret.*

45. Character of Clodius. Cicero's exile. The capture of Cyprus by Cato.

1. **P. Clodius**: Clodius was of noble birth, but an unprincipled man, and a reckless demagogue. While the Roman matrons were celebrating the mysteries of the *Bona Dea* in Caesar's house, Clodius entered in disguise. He was detected in this violation of law, and brought to trial, but escaped conviction by bribing the judges. He became the enemy of the senatorial party, and especially of Cicero, who had been a witness against him. To carry out his designs, he secured adoption into a plebeian family, and was then elected tribune, 58 B.C. In this office he was a willing tool in Caesar's hands for humbling the senate and winning the favor of the people. For the manner of his death, see 47. 4; also Cic. Mil. 10. Kaiser (Doct. Diss., Berlin, 1884) thinks that Velleius has here imitated Sall. Cat. 23. — **nobilis**: *of high birth.* The full form is *gnobilis*, from Latin base *gno*, *to begin to know*, seen in *gnosco* (*nosco*), Greek *γι-γνώ-σκω*, A.S. *cnáwan*, Eng. *know.* — **executor**: post-Augustan. — **inimicitias . . . exerceret**: for a similar expression, cf. Sall. Cat. 49. Cicero (Mil. 9) calls Clodius *homo ad omne facinus paratissimus.* — **tam dissimiles**: Sallustian. Cf. Iug. 31, *Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax, aut amicitia esse?* On *tam*, see Introduction, II., Adverbs. — **indemnatum**: = *indicta causa damnatum, condemned without a hearing.* — **solus petebatur**: Cicero had caused Lentulus, Cethegus, and other members of Catiline's conspiracy to be put to death in prison without trial.

2. **viginti viros**: sc. *praepositos.* Pompey and Crassus were at the head of the commission. Cicero, one of the senatorial party, and opposed to Caesar and his plans, refused to be a member.

3. **intra biennium**: Cicero went into exile about April 1,

58 B.C., and was recalled in August of the following year. — **verum ut**: *but when*. — **Annii Milonis**: T. Annius Milo, tribune of the people, 57 B.C., secured Cicero's recall. He was opposed by Clodius and maintained an armed band for protection. The hostility of these two leaders resulted in a violent encounter on the Appian Way in which Clodius was killed. Cf. 47. 4. — **Numidici**: Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus received his surname because of his victories over Jugurtha in Numidia during his consulship and proconsulship, 109 and 108 B.C. Cf. 11. 1, *Bellum deinde Iugurthinum gestum est per Q. Metellum nulli secundum saeculi sui;* also 11. 2, *Metelli tamen et triumphus fuit clarissimus et meritum ex virtute ei cognomen Numidici inditum*. — **exilium aut reditum**: cf. 15. 3, 4, "Q. Metellus, son of Numidicus, justly received the surname of Pius; for when his father was banished by Saturninus, a tribune of the people, because he alone had refused to swear obedience to his laws, Quintus, by his own devotion and through the influence of the senate and Roman people, obtained his father's recall."

4. **ministerii**: see on 93. 2. — **titulo**: with the force of *praetextu, specie;* used in this sense by Livy and the younger Pliny. — **M. Catonem**: M. Porcius Cato Uticensis was the great-grandson of Cato Maior. In the civil war he favored the Pompeian party. After the battle of Thapsus, 46 B.C., unwilling to submit to Caesar, the ruler of the Roman world, he committed suicide. Cf. Hor. Od. II. 1. 23, 24:

Et cuncta terrarum subacta
Praeter atrocem animum Catonis.

— **is quaestor**: Cato had been quaestor long before this time. He was sent to Cyprus as *quaestor extra ordinem*. For a similar use of the term, see Sall. Cat. 19, and Suet. Caes. 9. — **adiecto**: to be taken with *quaestore*. — **Ptolemaeum**: a natural son of Ptolemy Soter II. — **omnibus morum . . . meritum**: Ammianus, XIV. 8. 15, says that the attack of the Romans upon Ptolemy, an allied king, was wholly unjustifiable, and was in reality due to their greed for power and their desire to fill their depleted treasury, regardless of the wrong inflicted upon an innocent ruler.

5. **pecuniam**: nearly $8,500,000; Mommsen. — **longe**: for *multo;* poetic and post-Augustan. See Introduction, II., Adverbs. — **cuius**

integritatem . . . est: for a similar thought, Lipsius cites Tac. Agr. 9, *Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre, iniuria virtutum fuerit.* — **insolentia**: in the ablative, depending upon *argui*, a verb of accusing. See A. & G. 220, b, 1; G. 377, 1; H. 410, II, 3.

46. Caesar's exploits in Gaul and Britain. Second consulship of Pompey and Crassus. The government of Gaul is given to Caesar for a second period of five years. Syria assigned to Crassus. His character and death. Syria saved to the Romans by Cassius.

1. **explicandas**: gerundive used instead of the verbal adjective in *-bilis*. Cf. 78. 3, *comparandi* for *comparabilis*. — **alterum . . . orbem**: cf. Flor. III. 10. 16, *quasi hic Romanus orbis non sufficeret alterum cogitavit*; also Iuv. 10. 168, *Unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis.* The use of *orbis* for *orbis terrarum* is mostly confined to poetry. — **vetus par consulum**: Pompey and Crassus were consuls for the first time, 70 B.C. They entered upon their second consulship, 55 B.C. — **neque petitus honeste**: Mommsen, Hist. IV. p. 382, in regard to this election, says, among other things, "But this had been effected only by open violence, on which occasion Cato was wounded and other extremely scandalous incidents occurred." — **probabiliter**: equivalent to *cum approbatione*.

2. **idem . . . temporis**: i.e. for five years. — **Parthicum**: Parthia proper was situated southeast of the Caspian Sea and east of Media. The Parthian empire gradually increased in power until it controlled the best provinces of the old Persian empire, and extended from the Euphrates to the Indus. It lasted from 256 B.C. to 226 A.D. — **Syria**: The country between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean; in its narrowest sense, the valley of the Orontes; made a Roman province by Pompey, 64 B.C. — **cetera sanctissimus**: cf. *cetera quietus ac probus*, 119. 4; also Tac. Agr. 16, *egregius cetera*; Liv. 1. 32, *cetera egregium*; Verg. Aen. III. 594, *at cetera Graius*; Sall. Iug. 19, *cetera ignarus*. This use of *cetera* in the adverbial accusative is very rare in classical prose. — **immunisque voluptatibus**: *free from base desires.* In this sense *immunis* is confined to poetry and post-Augustan prose. Cf. 115. 2. In 14. 3, *ab* is used, *immunisque ab omnibus arbitris.*

3. **diris cum . . . conati**: the people and the tribunes opposed

this unnecessary and unjust war with Parthia. "When Crassus had reached the gate of the city, the tribune, Ateius, attempted to stop him by force; but, failing in this, he performed a religious ceremony of the most appalling nature, by which he devoted the commander himself, and all who should follow him on that service, to the wrath of the infernal gods and a speedy destruction." Class. Dict.

4. **Euphraten**: Greek form. The Euphrates rises in the Taurus mountains in Armenia. It flows in a southeasterly direction, separating Mesopotamia from Syria. After a course of sixteen hundred miles, it empties into the Persian Gulf. The Tigris unites with it ninety miles from the gulf. — **Crassum . . . interemit**: for an account of the defeat and death of Crassus, see Liddell, p. 669; cf. Hor. Od. III. 5. 5. — **Seleuciam**: a Greek city of Babylonia, on the Tigris, and at this time one of the principal cities of the Parthian empire. — **Orodes**: king of the Parthians. He was put to death by his son, Phraates, 37 B.C. — **C. Cassius**: quaestor under Crassus. He led the remnant of the army back to the Roman province, and in 51 B.C. gained a decisive victory over the Parthians. In the civil war he sided with Pompey and commanded a fleet in his behalf. He was one of the conspirators against Caesar, *auctor facinoris*, and with Brutus commanded the republican forces at Philippi, 42 B.C. Supposing that all was lost when his division had been defeated, he took his own life. — **mox**: used as an adjective, attributive to *auctor*. This usage belongs to all periods, but did not become common until after the time of Cicero. — **fugaret ac funderet**: the usual order of these words is here reversed; cf. 112. 2.

47. Deeds of Caesar in Gaul and at Alesia. Death of Julia, daughter of Caesar and wife of Pompey. Pompey enters upon his third consulship alone. Milo condemned for killing Clodius.

1. **amplius**: *quam* is often omitted after *amplius*, in expressions of number, without affecting the construction. Cf. 56. 2. — **quadringenta milia**: this is the reading of A P. Lipsius suggested *octingenta m.;* Vossius, *undecies centena m.*, following Appianus, Gall. 1. 2. Cf. Plin. H. N. 7. 25, "He engaged in fifty battles, alone surpassing M. Marcellus, who had fought in thirty-nine. Excluding the battles of the civil war, 1,192,000 men were killed

by him." See Leighton's Rome, p. 315, note. — **bis . . . Britannia**: 55 and 54 B.C. — **novem denique . . . ulla non**: *there was scarcely a summer of the nine in which he fought in Gaul that he did not in the highest sense deserve a triumph*; Kritz. — **iustissimus . . . emeritus**: for the rules governing a *triumphus iustus*, and for the method of celebrating one, see Smith's Dict. Antiq. Caesar celebrated a brilliant triumph, 46 B.C., in honor of his victories in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. It surpassed in magnificence all former triumphs in the history of Rome. — **Circa Alesiam . . . gestae**: Alesia, now *Alise*, was a town of the Mandubii, in Gaul. For an account of the defeat of Vercingetorix by Caesar at Alesia, see Caes. B. G. 7. 68 ff.

2. **anno**: see on *maiore parte anni*, 44. 5. — **medium**: belongs to *pignus*. — **cohaerentis**: to be taken with *concordiae*. — **Iulia . . . decessit**: cf. Flor. IV. 2. 13, *Crassi morte apud Parthos, et morte Iuliae, Caesaris filiae, quae nupta Pompeio generi socerique concordiam matrimonii foedere continebat, statim aemulatio erupit*; and Luc. I. 119, 120. — **filius**: so Luc. V. 474, and Suet. (Caes. 26); but Plut. (Life of Pomp.) refers to the child as a daughter.

3. **Tum in . . . caedesque**: "The unparalleled agitation regarding the elections for the consulship of 53 B.C. led to the most scandalous scenes, so that the elections were postponed a full year beyond the fixed time, and only took place after a seven months' interregnum in July, 53"; Mommsen, Hist. IV. p. 388. — **tertius consulatus soli**: in 52 B.C. Pompey was made consul without a colleague. This practically gave him the power of a dictator. — **veluti**: see on *quasi . . . violata*, 100. 5.

4. **facto salutari**: "The dregs of the populace, especially the freedmen and slaves, had lost in Clodius their patron and future deliverer"; Mommsen. — **Bovillas**: Bovillae was a small town on the Appian Way, about twelve miles from Rome. — **Milonem reum**: Cicero defended Milo, delivering in his behalf the oration *pro Milone*, now extant, though revised and changed from the form in which it was delivered. The popular outcry against Milo and the presence of armed men at the trial prevented Cicero from speaking with his usual power. Milo went into exile at Massilia, in Gaul.

5. **M. Cato . . . sententia**: Pompey appointed Cato one of the commissioners for investigating the death of Clodius — **occisum**: a perfect participle with the force of a verbal noun in English, *the killing of that citizen*. See A. & G. 292, a; H. 549, 5, note 2.

48. Causes of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. Character of Curio, tribune of the people.

1. **dimitti**: the technical word for disbanding an army. — **Hispanias**: *citeriorem et ulteriorem*. The provinces were decreed to Pompey for five years. — **Afranium**: L. Afranius Nepos, a partisan of Pompey, by whose influence he was made consul, 60 B.C. He commanded the right wing at Pharsalus. After the battle of Thapsus he was captured and put to death by the soldiers of Sittius, an adherent of Caesar. — **Petreium**: Marcus Petreius commanded the Romans against Catiline, 62 B.C. Cf. Sall. Cat. 59, 60. After the battle of Thapsus he fell, by his own hand, after having performed the same office for Juba, the partner of his flight. — **adsentabatur**: in the best writers *adsentari* means *to flatter*. Velleius uses it in a good sense for *adsentiri, to agree with*; Georges. The reading, *adsentiebatur*, was preferred by Lipsius. — **adversabatur**: "to oppose," in opinion only, not by force.

2. **biennium**: accusative with *ante*, denoting the time between two events. See A. & G. 259, d; G. 400, Rem. 3; H. 430. Lipsius suggested *annum* as more accurate, historically. — **muneribus**: *munus*, "a public building," is also found in Ov. A. A. I. 69. — **theatri et . . . operum**: Pompey built the first permanent theatre in Rome. It was a magnificent structure of stone, capable of seating forty thousand persons. He evaded the law against the erection of a permanent theatre by building a temple of Venus Victrix above, in such a position that the seats of the theatre served as steps to the temple. The location was in the Campus Martius, near the present *Campo di Fiore*. Some fragments of the old building are incorporated in the *Palazzo Righetti*. In the rear of the *scaena* Pompey erected a portico, containing a *curia*, or senate-house. (See Dyer's Rome, pp. 174–176.) It was in this *curia* that Caesar was killed. On its site now stands the church of *S. Andrea della Valle*. — **vota pro salute**: cf Iuv. Sat. 10. 283, 284:

Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
Optandas, sed multae urbes et publica vota
Vicerunt.

— **inferos**: equivalent to *mortuos*.

3. **viginti annos**: from the beginning of the war between Caesar and Pompey, 49 B.C., to the triumph of Augustus, 29 B.C. — **C. Curio**: C. Scribonius Curio, a partisan of Caesar, is said to have saved the latter's life after the debate in the senate concerning Catiline's accomplices. Plutarch laid Antony's early initiation into vice to Curio's charge. In the civil war he was defeated and slain in Africa. — **facem**: used figuratively, giving a poetical coloring to the sentence. Cf. 89. 3, *sopitus ubique armorum furor*. — **ingeniosissime nequam**: cf. 68. 1, *ingeniose nequam*.

4. **gratis**: for *gratiis*, "on account of favors," hence, *without reward*, *gratuitously*. — **centies sestertio**: about $500,000. — **in medio relinquemus**: for a similar expression, cf. Tac. Ger. 46.

5. **cavente Cicerone**: for a fuller account of Cicero's efforts in behalf of peace, see Plut. Caes. 31. — **iustis**: *complete*, *full*. See on *alio loco*, 96. 3. — **promatur**: concessive. For this use of the subjunctive with *cum . . . tum*, see A. & G. 326, b; G. 589; H. 521, 2 (2), note 1, second example.

6. **Lucullis**: 1. L. Licinius Lucullus, a man of wealth and refinement, a friend of Cicero, and a patron of art and letters. He was consul, 74 B.C., and was engaged for several years in the Mithridatic war. 2. Marcus, brother of the former, was adopted by M. Terentius Varro. He was consul, 73 B.C., and two years later gained a triumph. — **Metello**: Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, consul, 69 B.C. He received his surname from his conquest of Crete. — **Hortensio**: Quintus Hortensius was the rival of Cicero as an orator. For thirteen years he was at the head of the Roman bar, and accumulated in that time an enormous fortune. He was the colleague of Metellus Creticus in the consulship. For Cicero's opinion of Hortensius as an orator, see Cic. Brut. 88. — **quieta . . . praecipitata**: see Critical Appendix. — **fatali . . . morte**: "a natural death." — **morte functi sunt**: see on *in sua . . . reddidit*, 123. 2.

49. The beginning of the civil war.

1. **Lentulo et Marcello**: L. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus were chosen consuls because of their subserviency to

Pompey and their opposition to Caesar. — **septingentis et tribus**: according to the Varronian era, which assigns the founding of Rome to the year 753 B.C., they were consuls 705 A.U.C. — **M. Vinici**: Marcus Vinicius was twice consul, 30 and 45 A.D. He was connected by marriage to the family of Tiberius. Velleius dedicated his history to Vinicius. Cf. 101. 3; 103. 1; 113. 1; 130. 4.

2. **Alterius ducis causa**: Pompey. On the causes of the war, see Luc. I. 67–182. — **omnia speciosa**: because of Pompey's brilliant name. Cf. 48. 2. — **fiducia**: ablative. Note its emphatic position. — **nomine**: the reading is doubtful. See Critical Appendix. The sense of the passage is this: "Pompey obtained the chief command through the favor of the consuls and senate."

3. **Nihil relictum . . . posset**: "This was to him (Caesar), who wanted a pretence for declaring war, a fair and plausible occasion; but the true motive that led him was the same that formerly led Alexander and Cyrus against all mankind, the unquenchable thirst of empire and the distracted ambition of being the greatest man in the world, which was impracticable unless Pompey was put down"; Plut. Life of Ant. ch. VI. — **alter consul**: Marcellus. — **Lentulus . . . non posset**: because of his debts. Cf. Caes. B. C. 1. 4, *Lentulus aeris alieni magnitudine et spe exercitus ac provinciarum et regum appellandorum largitionibus movetur, seque alterum fore Sullam inter suos gloriatur, ad quem summa imperii redeat.* — **ante**: =*potius.* — **antiquus**: *honest,* "a man of the good old times." — **laudaret**: potential subjunctive. — **terribiliora**: *terribilis,* from *terreo,* means *capable of inspiring fear, formidable, powerful.*

4. **Ut**: =*simul ac.* — **contentus . . . retinere**: the infinitive after *contentus* is post-Augustan. — **veniret**: sc. *ut.* For the omission of *ut* after *decerno,* see A. & G. 331, f, Rem.; H. 499, 2. — **Rubiconem**: a small river flowing into the Adriatic north of Ariminum. It formed part of the northern boundary of Italy. It was in direct violation of law for the proconsul of Gaul to cross this in command of his army. About the year 42 B.C. the boundary was changed to the Alps, and thus the Rubicon was deprived of its former importance. — **transiit**: cf. Suet. Caes. 32, *Tunc Caesar 'Eatur' inquit, 'quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas vocat. Iacta alea est.'*

—**relicta urbe**: cf. Caes. B. C. 1. 14, *cum Lentulus consul ad aperiendum aerarium venisset ad pecuniam Pompeio ex senatusconsulto proferendam, protinus aperto sanctiore aerario ex urbe profugeret.* The "more sacred treasury" had been kept from early times to meet the chance of a Gallic war. "To account for this terror, it must be remembered that some of Caesar's troops were Gauls, and that his opponents thought that he would turn on them the habits of ferocious warfare learned in that country;" Moberly.—**Dyrrachium**: formerly *Epidamnus*, a seaport of Illyria, now *Durazzo.*

50. Caesar enters Rome. Unable to make peace, he invades Spain.

1. **Domitio**: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul 54 B.C., was selected by the Pompeian party to succeed Caesar in Gaul. Released at Corfinium, he fled to Massilia. He fought at Pharsalus, and was killed in flight after the battle.—**legionibusque**: Domitius had thirty-three cohorts. These had not been organized into legions. Cf. Caes. B. C. 1. 15.—**Corfini**: Corfinium was a fortified town of the Peligni, now *S. Pelino.*—**Brundusium**: in Calabria. It was the principal Roman port on the Adriatic, now *Brindisi.*—**integris . . . condicionibus**: *while the state was uninjured and peace possible.* Cf. Sall. Iug. 112. 1, *posse condicionibus bellum poni.*

2. **necessitudinis**: for *necessitatis.* The latter is more common in Cicero than the former.

3. **Massilia**: in southern Gaul, now Marseilles. It was founded by Greek colonists, probably before 500 B.C., and became a rich commercial city, a rival of Carthage, and an ally of Rome. It suffered severely in the civil war because of its adherence to Pompey.—**melior . . . prudentior**: for the use of both adjectives in the comparative when two qualities of the same object are compared, see A. & G. 192; G. 314; H. 444, 2.—**principalium**: post-Augustan for *principum.* Velleius often uses an adjective in the place of a noun in the genitive. Cf. 56. 3, *principalis quies;* 76. 2, *muliebris fugae.*—**captans**: with the force of *capiens.* See Introduction, II., Verbs.

4. **ipsius**: sc. *Caesaris.* It does not belong to *adventus.*—**occupatus**: *surprised.* For the events described in §§ 3, 4, see

Mommsen, Hist. IV. p. 458 ff. — **uterque**: note *uterque* with the partitive gen. *legatorum*. Cf. 103. 3, *post utriusque . . . obitum*. *uterque* with a pronoun in the partitive gen. is classical; it is also used in Cicero with a substantive modified by an adjective pronoun, as *suarum rerum utramque*, Div. 1. 52. 119; but with a substantive alone, it is poetic and post-Augustan.

51. Caesar defeated by Pompey at Dyrrachium.

1. **tetrarcharum . . . dynastarum**: *Tetrarcha*, a Greek word, denotes one who governs a fourth part of a kingdom. *Dynastes*, also Greek, signifies one who has very much power as a magistrate in a state. — **inmanem exercitum . . . classium**: "He had command over an army of seven thousand cavalry and eleven legions, . . . and over a fleet of five hundred sail;" Mommsen.

2. **sua et . . . fortuna**: *his usual activity and good fortune.* — **Sed . . . obsidentibus**: cf. Caes. B. C. 3. 47, *Ipse* (*Caesar*) *autem consumptis omnibus longe lateque frumentis summis erat in angustiis.* See Leighton's Rome, p. 330; and Caes. B. C. 3. 48, 49.

3. **Balbus Cornelius**: for the order, see on *Vetere Antistio*, 43. 4. "There were two men bearing the name L. Cornelius Balbus, each surnamed Gaditanus, and each enjoying the rights of Roman citizenship. One was called *Maior*, and the other, the nephew of the former, *Minor*. It is not strange that modern writers have confused the two, since Velleius himself has not clearly distinguished between them;" Ruhnken. The younger Balbus was governor of Africa, and won a triumph by his victory over the Garamantes, 19 B.C. He is said to have been the first one who was not a Roman citizen by birth to receive triumphal honors. He aided Augustus in his plans for beautifying the city by building the theatre of Balbus. — **quanti**: genitive of indefinite value. — **illis incrementis**: sc. *dignitatis*. — **ex . . . consularis**: this is true of the elder Balbus, but true of the younger only on the condition that *consularis* means simply *the governor of a province.* This may be its force (see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. II. B.). *ex privato* would then mean that he had been neither praetor nor consul. As observed by Ruhnken, Velleius has not made it perfectly clear to which Balbus he refers. — **Variatum . . . proeliis**: *Afterwards they fought with varying success.* — **uno**: the battle of Dyrrachium, 48 B.C. — **longe**: see note on 45. 5. — **Pompeianis prospero**:

cf. Caes. B. C. 3. 72, *His rebus tantum fiduciae ac spiritus Pompeianis accessit, ut non de ratione belli cogitarent, sed vicisse iam viderentur.*

52. Pompey follows Caesar into Thessaly. Battle of Pharsalus, in which Caesar is victorious.

1. **fatalem**: equivalent to *fato destinatam.*

2. **hercules**: the more common form of the vocative is *hercule*, sometimes shortened to *hercle.* — **fuit**: the indicative perfect where we should expect the subjunctive pluperfect. The indicative emphasizes the fact that it would have been advantageous for Pompey if he had crossed over into Italy. — **dignatione**: for *dignitate.* — **impetu suo**: In following Caesar, Pompey acted in accordance with his own judgment, in fighting with him at Pharsalus, in accordance with the judgment of others.

3. **Pharsalicam**: Pharsalus was a city in Thessaly, now *Fersala.* The region about it was called Pharsalia. — **diem**: August 9, 48 B.C. — **conlisa inter se . . . capita effossumque . . . lumen**: forcible figures. Of the first, Ruhnken says: *metaphora ducta ab animalibus, quae mutuo concursu capita collidunt.* With *effossum lumen*, cf. Verg. Aen. III. 663, *Luminis effossi fluidum lavit inde cruorem.* — **tot . . . caesos viros**: Pompey lost fifteen thousand; Caesar, only two hundred men; Mommsen.

4. **antiquius**: *more important.* — **dimitteret**: see Critical Appendix.

5. **Brutum**: M. Junius Brutus, one of the conspirators. Cf. 56. 3; 70; 72. 1, 2.

6. **neminem**: equivalent to *nullum.* — **desideravit**: *did not lose.* — **sed munus . . . daret**: observe the emphatic order.

53. Pompey's flight to Egypt, and death.

1. **duobus Lentulis**: L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, on whom see 49. 1; and P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, consul 57 B.C. — **Sextoque**: cf. 73, 77, 79. — **Iubam**: Juba succeeded his father, Hiempsal, as king of Numidia, about 50 B.C. Cf. 54. 2; see also on Petreius, 48. 1. — **Aegyptum**: Egypt became a Roman province, 30 B.C. Cf. Tac. H. I. 11, *Aegyptum copiasque, quibus coerceretur, iam inde a divo Augusto, equites Romani obtinent loco regum.* — **proposuit**: *determined.* — **beneficiorum**: This Ptolemy, father of Cleopatra, was surnamed Auletes, the flute-player.

Driven from his kingdom by the Alexandrians, he fled to Pompey, by whom he was commended to the protection of the Senate. Gabinius restored him to the throne. — **Ptolemaei**: Ptolemy XIII., brother and husband of the famous Cleopatra. — **Alexandriae**: Alexander founded eighteen cities of this name during his conquest of the East. The one here referred to was the most important. It was situated near the mouth of the Nile, and was founded 332 B.C. Under the Ptolemies, it became the capital of Egypt.

2. **in adversis**: sc. *rebus*; see Introduction, II., Adjectives. For a similar sentiment, cf. Caes. B.C. 3. 104, *ut plerumque in calamitate ex amicis inimici existunt.* — **quando fortuna . . . fidem**: cf. Hor. Od. III. 29. 49–52,

> **Fortuna, saevo laeta negotio et**
> **Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,**
> **Transmutat incertos honores,**
> **Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.**

— **Mytilenis**: the chief city of Lesbos. The whole island is now named from the city, *Metelino.* — **Theodoti et Achillae**: Theodotus was the instructor of Ptolemy; Achillas, the commander of the army. — **iugulatus est**: cf. Caes. B. C. 3. 104.

3. **totidem triumphos**: 1. for victories in Africa over Hiarbas, celebrated in March, 79 B.C.; 2. in December 71, in honor of the successful termination of the war against Spartacus; 3. in 61, for victories over Mithridates and for conquests in the East. — **deesset**: sc. *ei.* — **ad sepulturam**: cf. Val. Max. 5. 1. 10, *In suo modo terrarum orbe nusquam sepulturae locum habuit.*

4. **C. Atilio et Q. Servilio**: consuls 106 B.C., the year in which Pompey was born.

54. Alexandriue and African wars.

1. **Non fuit . . . fides**: observe the emphatic order. — **Quippe cum**: *cum*, causal, is often emphasized by *quippe.* See A. & G. 326, note 1; G. 587, Rem. — **insidiis ac . . . bello**: cf. Suet. Caes. 34, *cum Ptolemaeo rege, a quo sibi quoque insidias tendi videbat, bellum sane difficillimum gessit.* — **meritas . . . suppliciis**: *they paid the penalty due to each of the great commanders, by suffering death.*

2. **quod ciebat rex . . . Scipio**: cf. Suet. Caes. 35, *Dehinc Scipionem ac Iubam reliquias partium in Africa refoventis devicit.*

— **Scipio**: Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, the adopted son of Metellus Pius. He was the colleague of Pompey in the latter's third consulship, 52 B.C., holding the office, however, only from August to January, as Pompey was consul alone during the first part of the year. He was governor of Syria, 49 B.C. Caesar (B. C. 3. 31, 32) speaks of his rule in terms of very severe condemnation. He commanded the centre of Pompey's side at Pharsalus. He fled to Africa and took his own life after the defeat of Thapsus.

3. **lectus . . . socer**: Pompey had married Cornelia, widow of Crassus, and daughter of Q. Metellus Scipio and Lepida. — **M. Cato**: i.e. Uticensis. — **locorumque inopia**: it was impossible to get a proper supply of food for the soldiers and beasts of burden, while on the march. — **honoratiori**: i.e. Scipio, who was an ex-consul. Cato was only an ex-praetor.

55. Caesar victorious in Africa and afterwards in Spain.

1. **transcursu**: post-Augustan, cf. 86. 1; 99. 4. See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. II. — **fortunam suam**: cf. 51. 2, *sua . . . fortuna*. — **occiso C. Curione**: see on 48. 3. — **varia fortuna**: Caesar was repulsed by Labienus at Ruspina. — **mox pugnavit sua**: at the great battle of Thapsus, 46 B.C. See Leighton's Rome, p. 334.

2. **dissimilis**: with the force of *alia*. *non alius quam* is doubtful in Cicero, but is found in Nepos, Livy, Pliny, and Juvenal. — **victus . . . Pharnaces**: *Rex Ponti. Caesar eum adgressus, uno proelio obtrivit. Hinc illa tria verba vulgatissima: 'veni, vidi, vici;'* Delphin. — **Cn. Pompeius, Magni filius**: Gnaeus was the older, Sextus the younger, of Pompey's two sons.

3. **initum proelium**: the battle of Munda, 45 B.C. Caesar is reported to have said: "On other occasions I have fought for victory, here I fought for life." See Liddell's Rome, p. 693. — **Marte**: *the result of the conflict.* — **equo**: note the omission of the preposition *ex*. *descendere* is also found with the simple ablative in the poets and in Sallust, Livy, and Valerius Maximus; elsewhere with the prepositions, *ex*, *de*, *ab*. Velleius shows the growing tendency to omit the preposition with the ablative of separation, after both simple and compound verbs; cf. *vestigio recessurum*, below; and *spectaculo pelleretur*, 79. 6. Cicero, Off. 3. 4, has *ab officio recedemus*. — **denuntiaret . . . se non recessurum**: cf. Suet. Caes. 36, *in Hispania ultimo proelio cum desperatis rebus etiam de con-*

sciscenda nece cogitavit. — **viderent**: the subjunctive in the *oratio obliqua* after *denuntiaret.* In the *oratio recta* the imperative would be used.

4. **Labienum**: Caesar's lieutenant in Gaul. Cf. Caes. B. G. 1. 21, *Titum Labienum, legatum pro praetore.* — **Varum**: P. Attius Varus, a partisan of Pompey, was killed at the battle of Munda. He is mentioned by Caesar in B. C. 1. 12, 13, 31; 2. 23–44.

56. Caesar's return to Rome; his clemency; his fivefold triumph. Conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius, and death of Caesar.

1. **quod . . . fidem**: the antecedent of *quod* is the clause, *omnibus . . . ignovit.* — **excedat**: subjunctive of characteristic. — **naumachiae**: a Greek word meaning *proelium navale.* Cf. 79. 1, *navalibus certaminibus.* — **epuli**: *epulum = convivium publicum; epulae = convivium privatum.* — **replevit**: equivalent to *recreavit* or *refecit.* For a similar use of *replere*, cf. 100. 2; 103. 1. — **eam**: refers to *urbem.*

2. **Quinque egit triumphos**: cf. Suet. Caes. 37, *Confectis bellis quinquiens triumphavit, post devictum Scipionem quater eodem mense, sed interiectis diebus, et rursus semel post superatos Pompei liberos . . . diverso quemque apparatu et instrumento.* — **Gallici . . . ex citro**: *apparatus* includes the images (*imagines*), statues (*simulacra*) and the frames (*fercula*) on which they were borne in the triumphal procession. The ornaments were made of different materials in each triumph. — **manubiis**: *manubiae* is the regular term for money obtained by the quaestor from the sale of booty. The proceeds were shared equally by the commander, the soldiers, and the treasury. — **amplius**: see on *plus* in § 3, below. — **sexiens . . . sestertium**: about $30,000,000. Velleius has probably put the amount too low rather than too high. For an account of Caesar's triumphs, see Suet. Caes. 37–39; Leighton's Rome, pp. 336, 340.

3. **clementer**: cf. 55. 2, *clementia.* — **plus**: like *amplius* above, it modifies the number, but does not affect the construction. See A. & G. 247, c; G. 311, 4; H. 417, 1, note 2. — **quinque mensium**: Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, 10. 8, written in May, 50 B.C., thus speaks of the probable duration of Caesar's ascendancy: *iam intelliges id regnum vix semestre esse posse.* — **principalis**: see on *principalium*, 50. 3. — **contra . . . Cassium**: for variety, instead of

simply *alterum.* — **omnium**: "all the conspirators." — **eius**: i.e. Caesar. — **D. Bruto**: D. Junius Brutus served under Caesar in Gaul, commanded his fleet at Massilia, and afterwards received the proconsulship of Gaul. He was *consul designatus* (58. 1) at this time. It was he who overcame Caesar's reluctance and induced him to attend the meeting of the senate on the fatal Ides of March. For the chief events in his life subsequent to this time, see 58 and 60–64. — **C. Trebonio**: Trebonius, like D. Brutus, had served under Caesar in Gaul and at Massilia. He was consul, 45 B.C. For his death, see 69. 1. — **aliisque . . . viris**: cf. Suet. Caes. 80, *Conspiratum est in eum a sexaginta amplius.* — **M. Antonius**: the triumvir. — **audendis**: used substantively; see on *praesentibus*, 75. 2. — **consulatus**: = *in consulatu.* — **Lupercalibus**: the festival of Lycean Pan, celebrated in February. — **repulsum erat**: the account given by Suetonius is strikingly similar (Caes. 79), *et Lupercalibus pro rostris a consule Antonio admotum saepius capiti suo diadema reppulerit atque in Capitolium Iovi Optimo Maximo miserit.*

57. Warnings to Caesar of impending danger.

1. **Pansae atque Hirtii**: C. Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius were colleagues in the consulship, 43 B.C. After Caesar's death they joined the senate against Antony. See 61. 3, 4; 62. 4. — **dum . . . expectat**: for the present with *dum*, see A. & G. 276, e; G. 220, Rem.; H. 467, III, 4. — **plurima ei . . . periculi**: cf. Suet. Caes. 81, *Sed Caesari futura caedes evidentibus prodigiis denuntiata est.* For an enumeration of the portents, see Suet. Caes. 81, and Shak. Jul. Caes. II. 2.

2. **Calpurnia territa**:

> "Calphurnia here, my wife, stays me at home:
> She dreamt to-night she saw my statua,
> Which, like a fountain with a hundred spouts,
> Did run pure blood; and many lusty Romans
> Came smiling, and did bathe their hands in it;
> And these does she apply for warnings, and portents,
> And evils imminent; and on her knee
> Hath begg'd that I will stay at home to-day."
>
> Shak. Jul. Caes. II. 2.

— **et libelli**:

> "If thou read this, O Caesar, thou mayst live;
> If not, the fates with traitors do contrive."



3. **ineluctabilis fatorum vis**: cf. Verg. Aen. II. 324, *ineluctabile tempus;* id. VIII. 334, *ineluctabile fatum.* — **cuiuscumque . . . corrumpit**: cf. 118. 4.

58. Antony gives a pledge of safety to the conspirators, who had fled to the capitol.

1. **Quo anno**: 44 B.C. — **id . . . facinus**: cf. Suet. Caes. 82, *utque animadvertit undique se strictis pugionibus peti, toga caput obvolvit, simul sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura deduxit, quo honestius caderet etiam inferiore corporis parte velata. Atque ita tribus et viginti plagis confossus est, . . . Exanimis, diffugientibus cunctis, aliquamdiu iacuit, donec lecticae impositum, dependente bracchio, tres servoli domum rettulerunt.*

2. **Brutus**: i.e. M.

3. **Dolabella**: P. Cornelius, Cicero's son-in-law, fought for Caesar at Pharsalus and later in Africa. See. 60. 4, 5; 69. 1, 2, for other events in his life. — **quem . . . sibi**: because Caesar was on the point of setting out for the East to engage in war with the Parthians. — **liberos suos**: plural for singular, *filium suum.*

4. **Et illud . . . exemplum**: cf. Cic. Phil. I. 1, *ieci fundamenta pacis, Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum, Graecum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis erat usa civitas illa; atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui.* Cicero proposed a general amnesty, ἀμνηστία. The Athenians had furnished an example of this when the Thirty Tyrants were overthrown, and democracy was restored under Thrasybulus. See Grote, Hist. Greece, III. ch. 66.

59. Octavius adopted by Caesar in his will; he goes to Rome.

1. **C. Octavium**: afterwards the emperor Augustus. — **adoptabat**: originally, adoption could only be effected by a vote of the people, *populi auctoritate*, in the *comitia curiata.* Under the emperors it was accomplished by imperial rescript, *ex rescripto principis.* Adoption by testament was not in all respects equivalent to adoption by vote of the people, or by permission of the emperor. It could give the person so adopted the name and the property of the testator, but nothing more. According to legal requirements, the name of Octavius now became C. Julius Caesar Octavianus. He caused his adoption to be ratified by the *curiae.* Velleius uses different names to designate Octavius, sometimes

calling him Caesar, sometimes C. Caesar. To avoid confusion, the name Octavius will be used in the notes preceding ch. 91, from that point Augustus.

2. **C. Octavius**: the father of Augustus. — **ut . . . ita**: *while . . . yet.* — **speciosa familia**: *a brilliant family; speciosa* is post-Ciceronian in this sense. — **Hic praetor . . . primo loco**: *among most illustrious candidates for the praetorship he was chosen first.* The number of praetors varied at different periods in Roman history. See on 89. 3. — **dignatio**: for *dignitas.* — **Iulia**: ablative. — **Atiam**: cf. Suet. Aug. 4, *Atia M. Atio Balbo et Iulia, sorore C. Caesaris, genita est.* — **Macedoniam**: made a Roman province, 146. B.C. — **imperator**: a title given a commander after an important victory. Cf. Caes. B. C. 3. 71, *Pompeius eo proelio imperator est appellatus.*

3. **maior . . . avunculus**: = *magnus avunculus.* See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. I. B. 3. — **Philippum**: L. Marcius Philippus, step-father of Augustus; consul, 56 B.C. — **militiae**: limits *comitem.*

4. **Apolloniam**: in Illyricum; now *Polighero.* — **belli . . . Getici**: the Getae were a Thracian tribe on the Danube, bordering on the Dacians. Suetonius speaks of an expedition against the Dacians, but not against the Getae; cf. Aug. 8, *Caesare post receptas Hispanias expeditionem in Dacos et inde in Parthos destinante.*

5. **Cui ut est nuntiatum**: for a fuller account, see Merivale, III. pp. 55, 56. — **avunculi**: loosely used for *avunculi magni.* — **Salvidienus**: cf. 76. 4. — **Agrippa**: a fellow-student of Octavius at Apollonia, afterwards his faithful friend and assistant. For his character and his many services to Augustus, see 79. 1; 84. 3; 85. 2; 88. 2, et passim.

6. **et cum intraret . . . conspectus est**: cf. Suet. Aug. 95, *Post necem Caesaris reverso ab Apollonia et ingrediente eo urbem, repente liquido ac puro sereno circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus orbem solis ambiit.* "The appearance of a radiant effulgence about the sun on the morning of his entry into the city was readily embraced as a fortunate omen: it interpreted to men their own hopes and inclinations, and colored their anticipations with the hues of the rainbow." Merivale, III. p. 59.

60. Octavius assumes Caesar's name. Violation of Caesar's will by Antony.

1. **Non placebat**: cf. Suet. Aug. 8, *dubitante matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente.* — **adiri nomen**: This is said of one who has been adopted by will and who takes the name of the person by whom he has been adopted. — **adserebant**: *claimed*, equivalent to *retinebant sibique vindicabant.* — **conditorem**: in apposition with *eum* understood, referring to Octavius. — **nominis**: *nation.*

2. **humilia**: *humilis* from *humus*, and *humanus* from *homo*, have the same root, *hum.* Cf. Grk. *χαμαί*, Goth. *guma*, Eng. *-groom* in *bridegroom* (A. S. *brydguma*), all from √**gham**, *earth.* The contrast between *caelestis* and *summa* on the one hand, and *humana* and *humilia* on the other, is more striking when we observe the root meaning of *humus.* — **avunculo**: see on *avunculi*, 59. 5. — **et Caesari**: by the use of *et* Velleius implies that Octavius thought of Caesar, first, as his relative, then as a great man, "the mighty Caesar." — **dictitans**: a favorite word; cf. 57. 1; 83. 2; and see Introduction, II., Verbs.

3. **superbe excepit**: for an account of the interview between Antony and Octavius, which occurred about the middle of May, in Rome, in the gardens of Pompey, see Merivale, III. p. 62. — These gardens were outside of the city proper, on the Pincian hill. — **velut . . . petitus**: Suetonius says, Aug. 10, that he actually plotted against Antony, *percussores ei subornavit.* — **eius vanitas**: *Antony's deception.*

4. **Aperte . . . furor**: note the emphatic arrangement. — **Sestertium septiens miliens**: about $35,000,000. — **ad aedem Opis**: = *ad templum Opis.* In such expressions *aedem* or *templum* is often omitted; cf. Cicero's use of *ad Opis*, cited below; also Hor. Sat. I. 9. 35, *ad Vestae.* Ops is the same as Cybele or Rhea, daughter of Caelus and Vesta, and sister and wife of Saturn. — **occupatum ab Antonio**: cf. Cic. Phil. II. 37, *Ubi est septiens miliens, quod est in tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis?* — **actorum . . . commentarii**: see Critical Appendix. The following may be taken as the sense of the passage: "The authority of the records was destroyed by inaccurate and false entries."

61. Activity of Octavius (now called C. Caesar). Defeat of Antony at Mutina, and death of the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa. Antony abandons Italy.

1. **undevicesimum . . . ingressus**: he had almost completed his nineteenth year.

2. **Calatia . . . Casilino**: towns in Campania; now *Galazze* and *Capua*. *Casilinum* was near the ancient Capua. — **veteranos . . . paternos**: they had been dismissed from service. *paternos* because Octavius was now the adopted son of Julius Caesar. — **brevi**: sc. *tempore*. — **legio Martia et quarta**: for *legiones Martia et quarta*. In such expressions Velleius always puts an appellative in the singular. Cicero always uses the plural of proper names, but either the singular or the plural of appellatives. For the usage of different authors, see Draeger, I. § 1. — **tanti . . . indole**: Ruhnken suggested *tanta*. — **ad Caesarem se contulerunt**: the legions were angry because Antony had not avenged Caesar's death; and at the same time Octavius' agents offered them liberal rewards if they would join his forces.

3. **hodieque**: = *hodie quoque;* see Introduction, II., Adverbs. — **scriptura**: meaning *inscriptione*. It does not appear to have been used in this sense by any other writer. For *scriptura, style,* see 52. 3. — **pro praetore**: cf. Cic. Phil. V. 16, *Demus igitur imperium Caesari, sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest. Sit pro praetore eo iure, quo qui optimo.*

4. **Mutinam**: a city in Cisalpine Gaul; now Modena. — **administratum est**: the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, were in reality the leaders in the campaign against Antony. — **mortem obiit**: Suetonius (Aug. 11) refers to the *rumor* that Octavius caused both consuls to be poisoned by the surgeon who dressed their wounds. Merivale (III. p. 121, Note) thinks it possible that this was a slander, started by Antony. Certainly the charge against Octavius has not been substantiated by proof.

62. Renewed hope of the Pompeian party. Provinces and honors decreed to Brutus and Cassius. Octavius treated with contempt by the senate.

1. **Omnia . . . honorifice**: thanksgiving to the gods, commendation of the commanders and soldiers. Cicero urged that the thanksgiving be extended to fifty days, and that Hirtius, Pansa, and Octavius be saluted as *imperatores*. — **erupit voluntas**: *their real desire manifested itself.*

2. **provinciae**: Macedonia to Brutus; Syria to Cassius. — **qui-**

cumque . . . tradidissent: the subjunctive "of cases frequently occurring," belongs to Livy, Nepos, and the later historians. See Roby, II. p. 312; A. & G. 316, a, 2; G. 569, Rem. 2; H. 518, 1. For a full discussion of the subject and a list of examples, see Draeger, II. pp. 596 and 733.

3. **nunc . . . nunc**: used for *modo . . . modo*. See Introduction, II., Adverbs. — **profecti . . . Italia**: note the omission of the preposition. This usage is more common in the poets and late prose writers. Cf. Caes. B. G. 1. 7, *ab urbe proficisci.* — **deportabantur**: this compound of *porto* is used with special reference to bringing anything from the provinces to Rome.

4. **alieno beneficio**: "bitter sarcasm;" Ruhnken. — **publica**: *at the expense of the state.*

5. **Caesaris . . . mentio**: *Caesar was so completely ignored.* Cf. 65. 1, *iacta mentio.* The Ciceronian formula is *mentionem facere.* — **cum**: concessive.

6. **illud**: *well known, famous.* — **laudandum et tollendum**: cf. Suet. Aug. 12. — **cum aliud diceret . . . vellet**: for a similar expression, Ruhnken cites Sall. Cat. 10, *aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere.* He was to be publicly praised, but secretly put to death. *tollere* is a *vox ambigua* meaning both "*to exalt*" and "*to remove*," i.e. "*to kill.*"

63. Antony crosses the Alps; declared an enemy of the state; receives the armies of Lepidus, Plancus, and Asinius Pollio.

1. **conloquia**: carried on by messengers, *internuntii*, between the two commanders. — **M. Lepido**: M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul with Caesar, 46 B.C., and master of the horse while Caesar was dictator. He was afterwards associated with Antony and Octavius in the second triumvirate. For his deeds and character, see 64, 66, 67, 80. — **furto**: for *furtim.* After the death of Caesar, Lepidus was made pontifex maximus by the aid of Antony. — **decreta . . . Hispania**: the province had been assigned to him by Caesar. — **cum et . . . Antonius**: cf. 69. 3, *cum et Brutus . . . postferendus.* — **dum erat sobrius**: on Antony's drunkenness, see Cic. Phil. II. 63, and 67, *domus erat . . . plena ebriorum: totos dies potabatur;* also ibid. 77, *Cum hora diei decima fere ad Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula atque ibi se occultans perpotavit ad vesperam.* — **per . . . castrorum**: cf. Verg. Aen. II. 725,

opaca locorum. This use of a neuter plural adjective or participle with the genitive is very rare in Cicero and Caesar. It is more common from the time of Livy. — **qui**: equivalent to *sed is*. — **titulo . . . cedebat**: Lepidus was the nominal, Antony the actual commander. — **cum**: concessive.

2. **Sub**: *immediately after*. — **Iuventius Laterensis**: a lieutenant under Plancus, by whom he was employed to communicate with Lepidus. — **inritus consilii**: so Tac. H. IV. 32, *inritus legationis*. This use of the genitive with *inritus* is later than the time of Livy.

3. **Plancus**: L. Munatius Plancus, a pupil of Cicero in oratory; consul with Lepidus, 42 B.C. In politics he was a "trimmer," siding with D. Brutus, Lepidus, Antony, Octavius, according as self-interest dictated. For the character of this *morbo proditor*, see 83. Cf. Hor. Od. I. 7. — **sua**: *his usual*. Cf. *sua*, 51. 2. — **difficile**: adverb, for *difficiliter, difficulter*. This use of *difficile* dates from the time of Velleius. For examples of the three forms, see Neue, II. p. 658. — **consentiens**: with *sibi*, literally, *agreeing with himself*, i.e. *deciding*. — **Asinius Pollio**: eminent as statesman, orator, poet, and historian; consul 40 B.C. He won a triumph in Dalmatia, established the first public library at Rome and was a patron of Vergil and Horace. Cf. Verg. E. 4; Hor. Od. II. 1. 14. — **proposito**: *propositi* has been suggested. — **uterque . . . tradidere**: note the synesis, *uterque* with a plural verb; cf. 95. 2, *uterque adgressi*.

64. D. Brutus put to death by order of Antony. Orations of Cicero against Antony. Lepidus declared a public enemy.

1. **Cameli**: a Gallic chieftain. — **iugulatus est**: for an account of the death of D. Brutus, see Merivale, III. p. 135. — **iustissimas**: Velleius writes as an imperialist.

2. **primus**: see Critical Appendix. Cf. Suet. Caes. 83, *nominavit Decimum Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus*. — **quae . . . Caesare**: the province of Cisalpine Gaul.

3. **actionibus**: *Orationes Philippicae in M. Antonium, XIV*; so named from their similarity to the famous orations of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon. Aulus Gellius, XIII. 1, calls them *Orationes Antonianae*. The first was delivered in the senate, September 2, 44 B.C. The second was not delivered, but was pub-

lished after Antony's departure from Rome. It purported to be a reply to the fierce invective called forth from Antony by the first. Critics have called it Cicero's masterpiece. The others were delivered between December, 44, and the following April; some in the senate, others before the people. "They cost the orator his life." — **aeternas . . . notas**: cf. Cic. Phil. XIII. 19, *Quem ego inustum verissimis maledictorum notis tradam hominum memoriae sempiternae.* — **sed . . . at**: note the difference in force between the two adversatives. *at* emphasizes the opposition. See A. & G. 156, b; G. 487, 490; H. 554, III, 2. — **Cannutius**: tribune of the people, 44 B.C.

4. **Utrique . . . stetit**: *the defense of liberty cost each his life.*

65. Triumvirate of Octavius, Lepidus, and Antony. Consulship of Octavius. Wonderful fortune of Ventidius.

1. **iacta mentio**: sc. *est.* See on *habita mentio*, 62. 5. — **et subinde**: equivalent to *etiam crebro.* This use of *et* is mostly post-Ciceronian. For *subinde* in its more common meaning, *immediately after,* cf. 96. 2. — **emersissent fastigium**: sc. *honoris.* "How high in honor the party of Pompey had already risen." — **eius**: for *sui.* For examples of the demonstrative thus used for the reflexive, see A. & G. 196, i; G. 521, 7; H. 449, 1, 3. — **diceretque . . . debere**: *and he said that Octavius was under more obligation to avenge the death of his father than was he (Antony) to avenge the death of his friend.*

2. **inita . . . societas**: "The conjunction of Octavius with his mortal foe was a political necessity." Merivale, III. p. 134. — **privigna Antonii**: *Claudia, Fulviae ex P. Clodio filia.* On this betrothal, which was soon broken off, see Suet. Aug. 62. — **pridie quam**: see on 83. 3. — **Q. Pedio**: a cousin of Octavius; praetor, 48 B.C. Cf. 69. 5. — **septingentis et novem**: Aldus reads DCCXI. See on 49. 1. — **M. Vinici**: see on 49. 1.

3. **Ventidium**: Ventidius was brought captive to Rome while yet an infant. He fought under Caesar in Gaul, and after the latter's death supported Antony. He held the offices of tribune, praetor, and consul. In 39 B.C., Antony sent him against the Parthians, over whom he was the first Roman to celebrate a triumph. Cf. 78. 1. Tacitus, Ger. 37, speaks of Ventidius with contempt, because of his low origin.

66. The triumvirs renew the proscription of Sulla. Cicero put to death; atrocity of the deed.

1. **uterque . . . erant**: see on *uterque*, 63. 3. — **ambo**: in the dual. Cf. Grk. ἄμφω; Ger. *beide;* Eng. *both.* *ambo* is used when the duality is assumed as known, *duo* when not already known; *ambo* when the time is the same for the action or event to which the two relate, *uterque* when the time is not the same. — **repugnante Caesare**: cf. Suet. Aug. 27. — **Sullani exempli . . . proscriptio**: cf. 28. 3, 4, "Sulla first (and would that he had been the last!) proscribed Roman citizens; so that in a state in which an insult to an actor was promptly punished, pay was publicly promised for the murder of citizens; and he received the most who killed the greatest number. As much was paid for the murder of a citizen as for the killing of an enemy. A man's property became the reward for his death. Sulla ordered that the possessions of the proscribed should be sold; that their children should not be allowed to inherit their wealth, and should be prohibited from seeking public office. But most unreasonable of all, the sons of senators were obliged to bear the burdens of their rank while not allowed to enjoy its privileges." See also Class. Dict. s.v. *Proscriptio.*

2. **tam indignum**: *so disgraceful.* — **tempore**: does not depend upon *indignum.* — **Abscisaque . . . vox publica**: Cicero was put to death near his Formian villa on the seventh of December, 43 B.C., in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Popilius, the centurion who slew him, had once been defended by Cicero in a capital cause.

3. **animo ac pectore**: *mind and heart.* — **Nihil . . . necem**: *You have accomplished nothing by giving a reward for closing those divine lips and cutting off that most noble head, and by inciting one, with the hope of pay for his murderous deed, to put to death a man, once so illustrious as consul and preserver of the state.*

4. **Ciceroni**: note the dative depending upon *rapuisti*, possibly for *eripuisti.* — **miseriorem**: = *quae miserior fuisset.* — **mortem**: we might expect *mors fuit.* See Roby, II. 1269. — **adeo non**: used from the time of Sallust with about the force of *tantum abest ut;* Georges.

5. **Vivit . . . memoriam**: for similar expressions, cf. Tac. Agr. 46, *manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum;* and Plin. Ep. II. 1. 11, *Vivit enim vivetque semper atque etiam latius in memoria hominum.* — **vel forte . . . providentia**: = *vel casu . . . vel consilio.* — **ille . . . Romanorum**: "He wrote for the great mass of intelligent men, men of the world, whom he wished to interest in the lofty problems of which philosophy treats. He, therefore, above all things, strove to make philosophy eloquent;" Cruttwell. — **in te scripta**: the Philippics.

67. Proscription of L. Caesar, the uncle of Antony; Paulus, the brother of Lepidus; and Plotius, the brother of Plancus.

1. **adeo nemo**: = *nedum quisquam*, or *tanto magis nemo;* post-Augustan; *nedum quisquam* followed by the subjunctive might have been used in the same sense.

3. **L. Caesarem**: L. Julius, kinsman of C. Julius, and uncle of Antony. He had been consul. It is probable that he and Paulus escaped. See Merivale, III. p. 140, Note 1.

4. **locos**: in the plural, Cicero uses the neuter form. — **germanis**: equivalent to *fratribus;* a play on the word. — **consules**: i.e. *designati.*

68. Points before omitted. M. Caelius, having excited an insurrection, is defeated at Thurii. Similar fate of Milo. Hostility of Epidius and Caesetius to Caesar.

1. **loco**: to be taken with *praeteritum.* — **neque . . . capit**: "Caelius is one whose deeds cannot be passed over in silence." — **M. Caelius**: M. Caelius Rufus, an orator of some note; praetor, 48 B.C. Cicero's oration, pro M. Caelio, was in his behalf. — **ingeniose nequam**: cf. 48. 3. — **quippe . . . erat**: cf. 91. 3, *melior illi . . . mens foret.* — **res familiaris**: *property.*

2. **novarum tabularum**: accounts, including receipts and expenditures, were kept on wax tablets, *tabulae accepti et expensi.* The destruction of these and the adoption of new tablets, *novae tabulae*, meant the abolition of debts, complete or partial. — **Milone Annio**: see on 45. 3. — **primo summotus**: he was suspended from office. — **circa Thurios**: *at Thurii. circa* here has the force of *ad* or *apud.* It is a less definite designation of place than *in.* — **oppressus est**: for an account of this "paltry insurrection" of Caelius and Milo, see Caes. B. C. 3. 20–22; Merivale, II. pp. 200–203.

3. **Compsam in Hirpinis**: a town of the Hirpini in Samnium; now *Conza.* — **P. Clodio . . . dedit**: cf. 47. 4. — **inquies**: for *inquietus.* Cf. 77. 2, *animus inquies.* — **ultra . . . temerarius**: for *magis temerarius quam fortior.*

4. **Quatenus**: with the force of *quoniam.* — **Marullum . . . Flavumque**: L. Epidius Marullus, L. Caesetius Flavus, tribunes, 44 B.C. They imprisoned certain men who had saluted Caesar as king. For this they were removed from office. — **paene . . . expertos**: *almost felt.*

5. **excessit**: equivalent to *eminuit.* — **censoria . . . nota**: see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. *nota*, II. B. 2. — **natura . . . excedendum**: i.e. *a clementia sua recedendum.* — **ei**: demonstrative for reflexive; cf. *sibi* and *sua* in the same sentence.

69. Death of Dolabella in Asia. Brutus secures the legions of C. Antonius and Vatinius in Macedonia. Vatinius. Capture of Rhodes by Cassius. Lycians conquered by Brutus.

1. **Dolabella**: see on 58. 3. — **Trebonium**: see on 56. 3. — **succedebat**: Ruhnken suggested *succensebat, he was angry.* Lipsius retained *succedebat* and thus explained it: *non a senatu, sed a se et scelere suo missus: nam provincia illi Syria erat, atque in eam ibat.* — **fraude deceptum . . . occiderat**: Trebonius was hostile to Dolabella and prevented him from getting supplies and caused him great annoyance on his way to his province. "Dolabella resented this affront. He took measures to throw the propraetor off his guard, scaled the walls of Smyrna in the night and caused him to be seized in his bed. When Trebonius begged to be conducted into the consul's presence, he received the taunting reply, that he might go where he pleased, but he must leave his head behind him;" Merivale. — **Zmyrnae**: an important city of Ionia the modern Smyrna. — **adversus**: *in* might have been used. Cf. Cic. N. D. I. 33, *ingratus in Democritum.*

2. **Statio Murco**: cf. 72. 4; 77. 3. — **Crispo Marcio**: Q. Marcius Crispus, in command of the Eastern frontier; he united his forces with those of Cassius. — **viris**: superfluous. — **legionibus**: ablative absolute with *acceptis.* — **Laodiciae**: also written *Laudicea*, a city in Syria, on the Mediterranean, near Gabala; now *Latakieh.* — **ita**: restrictive. — **cervicem**: in Cicero and Sallust always in the plural, but in Silver Latin the singular is the more

common form. — **in eo tractu**: *in that region.* *tractus* has here lost its primary signification, *drawing.* Cf. the Eng. "tract of land." — **sui iuris**: predicate possessive genitive. Cf. *iuris sui fecit,* 108. 2.

3. **C. Antonio**: brother of Mark Antony; praetor, 44 B.C. He was at first spared by Brutus, but it is said that he was afterwards sacrificed in retaliation for the death of either Decimus Brutus, or Cicero. — **Vatinio**: P. Vatinius, a partisan of Caesar; rewarded by him with the consulship, 47 B.C. — **circa**: see on 68. 2. — **Vatinium . . . obruerat**: *he had by his great reputation overawed Vatinius.*

4. **animus . . . inclusus**: cf. Cic. N. D. I. 27, *domicilium mentis.*

5. **Pedius**: see on 65. 2. — **damnatis**: omitted by some critics because the case of the conspirators was a *causa indicta.* — **Capito**: Fonteius Capito, uncle of Velleius and friend of Antony. — **Agrippae subscripsit**: i.e *adiutor Agrippae in accusando Cassio fuit;* Krause.

6. **rem**: in apposition with the clause, *Cassius Rhodum ceperat.* — **Lycios**: the Lycians, in Asia Minor. — **exercitus**: the object of *traiecerant.* — **per omnia**: used from the time of Livy in the sense of *in omnibus, omnino.* — **Cassius . . . vinceret**: cf. 72. 2. — **pronior**: *more favorable;* post-Augustan in this sense. — **veluti . . . destituerit**: "This on account of its singular elegance has been imitated by Lucan, II. 727, '*lassata triumphis Destituit fortuna tuis.*'" Ruhnken.

70. Battle of Philippi. Death of Brutus and Cassius.

1. **Philippos**: Philippi was a city in the eastern part of Macedonia, not far from the borders of Thrace. The battle was fought in the year 42 B.C. "In the estimation of the Roman writers it was the most memorable conflict in their military annals. The numbers engaged on either side far exceeded all former experience. Eighty thousand legionaries alone were counted on the one side, and perhaps a hundred and twenty thousand on the other, at least three times as many as fought at Pharsalia." Merivale. For a full account of the battle, see id. III. pp. 162–170. Horace took part in this battle as military tribune under Brutus and Cassius. Cf. Hor. Od. II. 7. 9, *Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam Sensi.* — **infirmissimus**

valetudine: cf. Suet. Aug. 13, *quamquam invalidus atque aeger.* — **Artorio**: Artorius was Octavius' physician. He perished by drowning, shortly after the battle of Actium. — **quietis**: = *somnii, a dream, a vision.* — **territo**: to be taken with *Artorio.*

2. **evocatum**: this applies to a veteran soldier recalled to arms because of some great and sudden danger. — **in vicino**: the neuter adjective used substantively with *in.* The expression is equivalent in force to an adverb. Cf. *in incerto*, 97. 2; *ex insperato*, 112. 6. — **facies**: nominative plural; very rare. — **denotari**: equivalent to *cognosci.* — **lacerna . . . circumdedit**: the usual custom for those about to die a violent death. See Hor. Sat. II. 3. 37, *cum vellem mittere operto Me capite in flumen;* also Suet. Caes. 82. (Cited on 58. 1.)

5. **emicat**: i.e. *salit, beats.* — **in vulnus**: by motonymy for *in gladium.*

71. Messalla saved by Octavius. Great number of eminent men slain in this war.

1. **Corvinus Messalla**: M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, eminent as commander, orator, poet, and patron of literary men; the friend of Horace, Tibullus, and Ovid. He first sided with Brutus and Cassius, then with Antony, and finally with Octavius, with whom he was consul, 31 B.C. Cf. 84. 1. Horace praises him, Od. III. 21. 9. — **fulgentissimus**: *most illustrious.* — **hominis . . . pii**: before the battle of Philippi his name had been placed on the list of the proscribed, but was soon erased, because he was not in Rome at the time of Caesar's murder. In the naval war with Sextus Pompey, Octavius, after defeat and shipwreck at Tauromenium, 36 B.C., found shelter in the camp of Messalla, by whom he was treated with the utmost respect.

2. **Catonis . . . cecidit**: Marcus, the son of *Uticensis*, died "a soldier's death, falling upon a heap of slaughtered enemies." — **Lucullum**: son of L. Licinius Lucullus, on whom see 48. 6. — **Hortensium**: son of Q. Hortensius, the orator. See 48. 6. — **Varro**: otherwise unknown.

3. **Drusus Livius**: L. Livius Drusus Claudianus, adopted into the Livian *gens* from the Claudian. He was the father of Livia Drusilla, who was called, after the death of Augustus, her second husband, Julia Augusta. — **Varus Quintilius**: father of the Varus

who was defeated and slain by the Germans, 9 A.D. — **insignibus . . . velasset**: cf. Liv. 5. 41, concerning the Roman senators when the city was taken by Brennus, *ut in fortunae pristinae honorumque aut virtutis insignibus morerentur.*

72. Comparison of Brutus and Cassius. Flight of Cn. Domitius. Statius Murcus attacks Sex. Pompey in Sicily.

1. **diem, quae**: see on *eam diem*, 42. 2. — **illi**: dative, depending upon *abstulit*. See A. & G. 229; H. 386, 2. — **facti**: the assassination of Caesar.

2. **melior**: sc. *tanto*, correlative to *quanto*. — **malles**: potential subjunctive. The imperfect for the pluperfect, "one would have preferred." — **interfuit**: the indicative to emphasize the fact, and so to compliment Octavius. The compliment is a just one.

3. **Cn. Domitius**: Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a supporter of Brutus and Cassius. After the battle of Philippi he was pardoned by the triumvirs and made consul, 32 B.C. Cf. 76. 2; 84. 2. — **simplicitatis**: =*probitatis, priscae morum integritatis.* — **huius Cn. Domitii**: father of the emperor Nero.

4. **Sex. Pompeium**: see on *Cn. Pompeius*, 55. 2. — **Siciliam**: Sicily became a Roman province, 241 B.C.

5. **e Brutianis castris**: *from the camp of Brutus;* referring to the soldiers of Brutus and Cassius who survived the battle of Philippi and who still remained loyal to the Republic. — **nullum . . . statum**: "no political rights." The proscribed lost their rights as citizens. — **statio**: only a stopping place (*sto*), and not the end of the voyage; a safe place for anchoring, in distinction from a well-constructed harbor, *portus*. — **pro portu**: the ablative with *pro* in place of the predicate dative, dative of service. See Roby, II. 1159. Cf. Caes. B. G. 6. 27 (cited by Roby), *His sunt arbores pro cubilibus.*

73. Character of Sex. Pompey.

1. **studiis rudis**: i.e. *ignarus litterarum.* The ablative after *rudis* without *in* is rare. — **cogitatione celer**: "quick in forming plans." — Cf. 118. 2, *sensu celer.* — **fide . . . dissimillimus**: of the elder Pompey, Velleius wrote, *paene omnium vitiorum expers* (see on 44. 1).

2. **in paterna . . . restituerat**: Sextus asked the senate for a restitution of his father's property. He received instead a large sum of money from the public treasury.

3. **magnum . . . legionum**: literally, *a great measure of legions*, i.e. a number of legions, each of which had its full complement of men. — **Menam et Menecraten**: Menas and Menecrates; cf. 77. 3. The former is called Menodorus by Merivale. He twice deserted Pompey for Octavius. See Merivale, III. p. 194. — **infestato mari**: ablative absolute. — **depuderet**: *de* is intensive, =*valde*. This is the only example of *depuderet* followed by the accusative; Georges.

74. Octavius enters Italy. Insurrections of L. Antonius and Fulvia. L. Antonius captured by Octavius at Perusia.

1. **obiturus**: in the sense of *peragraturus*. — **substitit**: sc. *apud Philippos*, or *in Graecia*. — **longe**: see on 45. 5. — **speraverat**: *had expected*.

2. **L. Antonius**: brother of Mark Antony, and consul, 41 B.C. — **agros amiserant**: among those who lost their lands by confiscation at this time were Vergil, Horace, and Propertius. — **conciens**: for *concitans*. The latter is employed by Caesar and Cicero.

3. **Antonii**: sc. *M.* — **Fulvia**: formerly the wife of Clodius. When Cicero's head was brought to Antony, Fulvia is said to have pierced the tongue with a golden bodkin. She attempted to control affairs in Rome while Antony was carrying on war against Brutus and Cassius. Allowed to escape from Italy (76. 2), she fled to Greece, and finally died at Sicyon of grief and disappointment. — **muliebre . . . corpus**: on this use of the adjective, see on *principalium*, 50 3. — **miscebat**: =*turbabat*. — **Praeneste**: an old and famous city of Latium; now *Palestrina*. — **Perusiam**: a city of Etruria; now *Perugia*. — **Plancus**: see on 63. 3.

4. **Perusiam expugnavit**: cf. Suet. Aug. 14, *ad deditionem fame compulit;* and Luc. I. 41. — **in Perusinos . . . ducis**: this does not agree with the statement of Suetonius. Cf. Suet. Aug. 15, *Perusia capta in plurimos animadvertit, orare veniam vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens, 'moriendum esse.'* But Appian agrees with Velleius. See Merivale, III. pp. 180, 181. — **Macedonicus**: his real name was Cestius. He had assumed this surname because he had served as a soldier in Macedonia. — **penatibus**: by metonymy for *aedibus*. — **igni**: ablative absolute with *subiecto*. — **gladio**: join with *transfixum*.

75. Tib. Claudius Nero excites war in Campania; flees with his wife, Livia. Family and fortune of Livia.

1. **Campania**: a fertile province of Italy, bounded on the north and east by Latium and Samnium and on the west by the sea. — **professus . . . patrocinium**: "under the pretence of defending those who had lost their lands;" i.e. he offered himself as their *patronus*. — **Ti. Claudius Nero**: known principally as the husband of Livia and the father of the emperor Tiberius. Cf. 77. 3; 79. 2. — **Ti. Caesaris**: the emperor Tiberius. — **doctissimique**: see Critical Appendix. — **id quoque . . . est**: Ruhnken saw in this an imitation of Cic. Manil. 11, *quod bellum. . . . eius . . . adventu sublatum ac sepultum.*

2. **Quis . . . queat**: oratorical. — **praesentibus . . . expectatis**: datives. The dative of neuter adjectives and participles used substantively is rare, especially in Cicero. Cf. *audendis*, 56. 4; *consultis*, 79. 1; *gloriosis*, 110. 3; *speciosis*, 113. 2. See Draeger, I. p. 51.

3. **Drusi Claudiani**: see on Drusus Livius, 71. 3. — **eminentissima**: for *clarissima*. — **postea . . . Augusti**: see on 71. 3; also cf. 79. 2; 94. 1. — **quam transgressi . . . filiam**: "and who after the death and deification of Augustus became his daughter and priestess." She was made his daughter by adoption according to the terms of his will. Cf. Suet. Aug. 101, *quos (Tiberium et Liviam) et ferre nomen suum iussit.* — **sacerdotem**: probably to be explained by reference to Tac. Ann. I. 10, *(Augustus) se per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet.* — **futuri sui Caesaris**: Scriner suggests *mariti* after *Caesaris* to correspond with *filium* below. He thinks that it might have fallen out before *arma*. (Doct. Diss., Utrecht, 1879.) See Critical Appendix. — **bimum**: *two years old.* For derivation, see Lat. Lex. — **hunc Tiberium**: the emperor. — **Caesaris filium**: Octavius' son by adoption. — **avia itinerum**: cf. *aversa castrorum*, 63. 1. — **uno comitante**: i.e. with one attendant.

76. C. Velleius, grandfather of the historian. Fulvia and Plancus escape unharmed from Italy. Asinius Pollio joins Antony. Antony makes peace with Octavius near Brundusium. Ambition of Rufus Salvidienus.

1. **alieno**: *to a stranger*. — **Cn. Pompeio**: sc. Magnus. Pompey chose these judges in his third consulship, 52 B.C. — **Ti. Neronis**:

Ti. Claudius Nero. Cf. 75. 1. — **praefectus fabrum**: *superintendent of the military engines.* — **nulli secundus**: the dative after *secundus*, instead of the accusative with *ad*, or the ablative with *ab*, belongs mostly to poetry and Late Latin. — **Neapoli**: a city in Campania, now *Napoli* (Naples). — **gravis iam aetate**: cf. Hor. Sat. I. 1. 4, *gravis annis Miles.*

2. **excedere Italia**: observe the omission of the preposition *ex*. — **circa Altinum**: see on *circa Thurios*, 68. 2. *Altinum* was a city in Venetia, northeast of Patavium; now *Altino*. — **Antonium petens**: *marching toward Antony.* — **vagum adhuc**: "still undecided what party to join." — **inlectum**: from *illicio*, for *in-lacio*; "won over, prevailed upon." — **fide**: like *consiliis*, to be taken with *inlectum*.

3. **quisquis . . . sciat**: *let every fair-minded person know.* — **habuit belli metum**: *caused a fear of war.* — **pax . . . composita**: Vergil's famous Fourth Eclogue was written in honor of this peace. See Merivale, III. pp. 182–184. — **circa**: see on 68. 2.

4. **Rufi Salvidieni**: Q. Salvidienus Rufus, a former friend (59. 5) and lieutenant of Octavius. Cf. Suet. Aug. 66, *alterum (Salvidienum) res novas molientem damnandum senatui tradidit.* — **parum habebat**: *did not deem it enough.* — **consul . . . esse**: a Greek construction. See A. & G. 272, b; G. 527, Rem. 3; H. 536, 2. — **infra . . . videret**: *infra se aliquem videre* is equivalent to *aliquem despicere, to look down upon, to despise.*

77. Peace made with Sex. Pompey. Statius Murcus killed by Pompey.

1. **expostulante . . . populi**: = *querente universo populo.* — **urebat**: for *urgebat*, or *premebat.* — **Misenum**: a promontory of Campania, near Cumae; now *Miseno*. Cf. Verg. Aen. VI. 234. — **in carinis suis**: a play on the word *carinae, ships*, and *Carinae*, the name of a district in Rome between the Caelian and Esquiline hills; now *S. Pietro in Vincoli.* Pompey the Great had his home in this aristocratic quarter. — **domus . . . possidebatur**: "Antony professedly purchased Pompey's house, but ultimately refused to pay the purchase money;" Peskett's Cic. Phil. II. 62, Note.

2. **placuit**: *it was decided.* — **Achaiamque**: Greece was made a Roman province, under the name of Achaia, 146 B.C. — **inquies**: for *inquietus.* Cf. 68. 3. — **attulit**: sc. *Sex. Pompeius.* — **quod . . .**

pactus est: this clause is in apposition with *Id unum salutare.* For this use of *quod* clauses, see A. & G. 333, note; G. 525; H. 540, IV, note.

3. **M. Silanum**: M. Julius Silanus, a lieutenant of Caesar in Gaul; a partisan of Lepidus; then of Antony; and, finally, the colleague of Octavius in the consulship, 25 B.C. — **Sentiumque Saturninum**: C. Sentius Saturninus. Cf. 92. 1; 105. 1, 2; 109. 5. — **Arruntium**: L. Arruntius. Cf. 85. 2; 86. 2. — **Titium**: M. Titius. Cf. 79. 5; 83. 2.

78. Antony marries Octavia, sister of Octavius. Sex. Pompey returns to Sicily. Antony goes to the East. Death of Labienus and Pacorus. Octavius carries on war in Illyricum and Dalmatia. Severity of Domitius Calvinus in Spain.

1. **Octaviam**: Octavia, illustrious for beauty and high character, had been formerly married to Marcellus. Her union with Antony was for a political purpose, to join more closely the two leaders. — **molimentis**: *exertions, efforts.* Proposed by Ruhnken in place of *momentis*, A P. — **Labienus**: Quintus, son of Caesar's lieutenant, *Titus Labienus.* — **profectus ad Parthos**: cf. Flor. IV. 9, *invitante Labieno, qui missus a Cassio Brutoque — qui furor scelerum! — sollicitaverat hostes in auxilium.* — **legato Antonii**: L. Decidius Saxa. Cf. Flor. IV. 9, *Saxa legatus ne veniret in potestatem gladio impetravit.* — **qui**: i.e. Labienus. — **Ventidii**: see on 65. 3. Cf. Tac. Germ. 37. — **Pacoro**: Pacorus was the oldest son of Orodes, king of the Parthians. He was defeated and slain by Ventidius, 38 B.C.

2. **in Illyrico Delmatiaque**: see on *eo bello*, 96. 3. — **patientia . . . experientia**: chiasmus.

3. **Eadem tempestate**: for *eodem tempore.* — **Calvinus Domitius**: Cn. Domitius Calvinus, consul, 40 B.C. — **ex consulatu**: *after his consulship.* — **comparandique**: see on *explicandas*, 46. 1. — **primi . . . centurionem**: the first centurion of the first maniple of the first cohort, — the chief centurion of the legion. He ranked next to the tribune, and had much to do with the general command of the legion. — **fusti percussit**: this punishment was called *fustuarium*, and was inflicted on Roman soldiers for desertion. "When a soldier was condemned, the tribune touched him slightly with a stick, upon which all the soldiers of the legion fell upon him

with sticks and stones, and generally killed him upon the spot." Smith's Dict. Antiq.

79. Octavius engages in war with Sex. Pompey. Agrippa placed in command. Octavius' fleet injured by a storm at Velia; defeated at Tauromenium. Pompey defeated; flees to Asia; killed by order of Antony.

1. **classe**: cf. *classi*, § 2. *classe* is the more common form of the ablative. See Neue, I. p. 213. — **molem belli**: for the same form of expression, cf. Liv. 21. 41. — **militi ac remigi**: used as collective nouns. In this sense *remex* is poetic and post-Augustan. — **adsuescendo**: = *adsuefaciendo*. — **M. Agrippa**: see on 59. 5. — **sed uni**: i.e. Octavius. — **dilationes**: see on *vires*, 44. 2. — **consultisque . . . coniungens**: an imitation of Sall. Cat. 1. 6, *Nam et prius quam incipias consulto et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est ;* Ruhnken. Cf. *decretis facta iungit*, 118. 3. With this use of *consultis*, cf. 75. 2, *praesentibus*.

2. **Averno ac Lucrino**: lakes in Campania, near the cities of Cumae and Baiae. At the former was the fabled entrance to the lower world; cf. Verg. Aen. VI. 126. The latter was noted for its oysters; cf. Hor. Epod. 2. 49. These lakes were connected with the sea by a canal. — **lacu**: for the singular, see on *legio*, 61. 2. — **despondente ei Nerone**: cf. Suet. Aug. 62; Tac. Ann. I. 10. — **auspicatis**: *favorable*.

3. **longe**: see on 45. 5. — **Veliam**: a town on the coast of Lucania. — **Palinuri promontorium**: south of Velia. For the origin of its name, see Verg. Aen. VI. 381. Now *Palinuro*. — **vis Africi**: *a strong southwest wind*. Cf. Verg. Aen. I. 85, *creberque procellis Africus*. — **dubia**: for *varia*. — **ancipiti**: in the sense of *periculosa*. See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. II. C.

4. **Mylas**: Mylae was a city in the northeastern part of Sicily; now *Melazzo*. At Mylae the Romans under Duilius, 260 B.C., gained their first naval victory over the Carthaginians. — **Pompeianae**: see Critical Appendix. — **Tauromenium**: in the eastern part of Sicily; now *Taormina*. It was after this battle that Octavius was received by Messalla. See on 71. 1. — **Cornificio**: Cornificius was placed in command of the small land force, while Octavius himself was on board of one of the vessels of the fleet. As a reward for the ability and courage shown, he was given the consulship in

the following year. "He retained through life the singular and perhaps inconvenient privilege, when he supped abroad, of riding home by torchlight on the back of an elephant;" Merivale, III. p. 200.

5. **explicatis**: "That is, drawn up in order and made ready for action;" Delphin. — **quippe**: see on 42. 3. — **iugulatus est**: for an account of the final overthrow of Sex. Pompey, see Merivale, III. pp. 203–205.

6. **cui**: i.e. Titius. Dative of reference. — **theatro Pompei**: see on 48. 2.

80. Lepidus' arrogant manner toward Octavius. Octavius' bold visit to the camp of Lepidus.

1. **ex Africa . . . Lepidum**: in the division of the Roman world after the battle of Philippi, Africa fell to the lot of Lepidus. After the peace of Brundusium, 40 B.C., in the rearrangement of the provinces, Africa was still left under the control of Lepidus, although Octavius and Antony then regarded him as of very little importance. Merivale. — **ipsius**: sc. *Lepidi*.

2. **inutilis . . . comes**: an appositive with the force of a concessive clause. — **Caesari**: the dative, depending upon *dissidendo*. — **interpretaretur auderetque**: see Critical Appendix. — **excederet**: sc. *ut;* see on **veniret**, 49. 4.

3. **ab Scipionibus**: Velleius may refer to the bold deed of Africanus after the battle of Cannae (Liv. 22. 53), or to his visit to King Syphax, 206 B.C., to form an alliance with the Numidian king against the Carthaginians. Cf. Liv. 28. 17. See Liddell, p. 356. — **veteribus . . . ducum**: a Greek construction. — **ausum**: used passively. — **lacernatus**: i.e. *lacerna amictus*. The *lacerna* was a cloak worn over the toga. — **telis**: added by Orelli. — **aquilam**: each legion had its own standard, an eagle, *aquila*, of the size of a dove, generally of silver, though under the empire sometimes of gold. It was represented with uplifted wings. Each cohort had also its own special standard, *signum*; Harkness.

4. **Scires**: see on *malles*, 72. 2. — **quam**: ellipsis of *post.* — **a fortuna**: *fortuna* is personified, hence the preposition. — **pulloque . . . amiculo**: *wrapped in a dark cloak.* — **Vita . . . dignitas**: almost Tacitean in brevity and spirit. Cf. Suet. Aug. 16, *spoliavit (Lepidum) exercitu supplicemque concessa vita Circeios in perpetuum relegavit.*

81. Octavius quells a disturbance in the army. Addition to the Campanian colony. Agrippa presented with a naval crown. Munificence of Octavius after his return to Rome.

1. **qui . . . desciscit**: *for it often happens that soldiers observing their own great numbers, revolt from discipline. desciscit* is the indefinite present, denoting a general truth or custom.

2. **speciosum**: to be taken with *supplementum.* — **coloniae**: see Critical Appendix. — **pro his . . . redditi**: *In return for these, much larger revenues in Crete, amounting to 1,200,000 sesterces* (about $60,000), *were given.* Lands in Crete, yielding a larger income, were given in exchange for those in Campania which were taken for the veterans. — **Creta**: now Candia; made a Roman province, 67 B.C. — **aqua**: i.e. an aqueduct.

3. **coronae classicae**: *classicae* for *navalis*, or *rostratae.* Cf. Verg. Aen. VIII. 684, *cui (Agrippae) tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona.* The *navalis* and the *rostrata* were probably the same. Vergil, as above, uses both epithets in speaking of Agrippa's crown. Cf. Gell. V. 6. 18, *Navalis est qua donari solet, maritimo proelio qui primus in hostium navem vi armatus transiluit; ea quasi navium rostris insignata est.* See Guhl & Koner, p. 585; Smith's Dict. Antiq. s.v. *corona.* — **publicis . . . professus est**: the place had been struck by lightning, and hence, *desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant*, Suet. Aug. 29. — **templumque Apollinis**: erected 28 B.C. Cf. Hor. Od. I. 31; Prop. III. 23. See Burn, Rome and the Campagna, p. 175: "The stone used in this temple, which was built with great magnificence, was the marble of Luna (Carrara), and it was surrounded, like the temples of the imperial Fora, and the temple of Venus and Rome, with a cloister. A statue of Apollo stood in it, between those of Latona and Diana; and it contained also statues of Augustus and of the Muses; on the summit was a group representing the Sun-god in his chariot." The temple contained a collection of gems and a bronze lamp-stand in the form of a tree. It was the repository of the Sibylline Books. — **circa**: an adverb.

82. Antony's campaigns in the East. Antony calls himself *Liber Pater.* He determines to make war against Rome.

1. **tam**: see on *tam dissimilis*, 45. 1. — **mitis, saeviit**: see Critical Appendix. — **tredecim**: the correct number is probably *sedecim.*

2. **impedimentis**: the *impedimenta* included the general baggage of the army, and consisted of tents and various supplies. They were carried by beasts of burden, *iumenta*, of which each legion had over five hundred. The soldiers carried their own personal baggage, consisting of clothing, rations, and various utensils, in packs called *sarcinae*. These were fastened to poles which were carried over the shoulder. — **tormentisque**: hurling engines. They consisted of catapults for shooting arrows and ballistae for hurling stones. — **cum . . . mutasset**: a causal clause. — **stationem**: *outpost*. — **praedixit**: *warned*.

3. **servitii**: *slaves*. — **ulla**: sc. *pars*. — **tertia aestate**: 34 B.C. — **Artavasden**: Artavasdes was the son and successor of Tigranes. He began to reign about 70 B.C. — **fraude deceptum**: he was invited to a conference with Antony and then held as a prisoner. After the battle of Actium, Artavasdes was put to death by order of Cleopatra. — **aureis vinxit**: cf. Curt. V. 12. 20, *Ne tamen honos regi non haberetur, aureis compedibus Darium vinciunt.*

4. **Cleopatram**: Cleopatra, the famous queen of Egypt, was the daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, and was born 69 B.C. She was placed upon the throne, 48 B.C., by the aid of Julius Caesar, to whom she bore a son, Caesarion. After the battle of Philippi she was summoned before Antony, at Tarsus, to explain her course in reference to the civil war. By her beauty and wealth she completely captivated the Roman general, and from that time he remained a willing slave. Cf. 85, 87. — **facultatibus**: *wealth*. — **Liberum Patrem**: the old Italian divinity, Liber, was identified with the Grecian god Bacchus. — **velatus**: equivalent to *ornatus*. — **thyrsum**: a staff encircled by ivy and vine shoots; the emblem of Bacchus. — **succinctus**: see Critical Appendix.

83. Plancus and Titius leave Antony and join Octavius.

1. **Plancus**: see on 63. 3. — **non iudicio recta legendi**: *not in the belief that he was choosing the right.* — **cum**: concessive. — **librarius**: *secretary*.

2. **in omnia . . . venalis**: *by money he could be induced to do all things for all men.* — **caeruleatus**: ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; for *caeruleo colore obductus*. — **caput**: accusative of specification. This construction is common in the poets, chiefly of parts of the body; cf. also Tac. Germ. 17, *nudae bracchia ac lacertos*. See Roby, II.

1102. — **Glaucum saltasset**: "He imitated Glaucus in dancing." Cf. Hor. Sat. I. 5. 63, *Pastorem saltaret;* Verg. Aen. I. 328, *nec vox hominem sonat.* A kind of cognate accusative; poetic and in post-Augustan prose; see A. & G. 238, a; G. 331; H. 371, II, note. Glaucus was a fisherman changed into a sea-god. — **refrigeratus**: i.e. *frigide exceptus.* — **manifestarum**: the adjective agrees with the gen. *rapinarum,* instead of agreeing with the governing noun, *indicia,* to which it logically belongs; *on account of the clear proofs of his dishonesty.* For a similar use of the adjective, cf. 91. 3, *omni;* 120. 3, *vacillantium;* also Tac. Agr. 4, *per omnem honestarum artium cultum.* — **pro sua virtute**: *as a proof of his own merit.* — **hunc avunculum**: meaning *hunc, suum avunculum,* a reading suggested by Halm, but not incorporated in his text.

3. **P. Silii**: P. Silius Nerva, Octavius' lieutenant in Spain; consul, 20 B.C. Cf. 90. 4. — **pridie quam**: "takes the same mood as priusquam;" H. 520, II, note 2. Cf. 65. 2; also Liv. 38. 8.

84, 85. The battle of Actium.

1. **Messalla Corvino**: see on 71. 1. — **debellatum**: equivalent to *bellum finitum est.* The war was declared against Egypt. This cast upon Antony the odium of fighting against Rome in behalf of a foreign foe. The ceremony of declaring war was performed by Octavius in the garb of a Fetial herald, according to the ancient custom; Merivale. — **Actium**: a promontory on the coast of Epirus; now *La Punta.* — **exploratissima**: *certain.* — **in hac . . . illinc**: for a like series, cf. Cic. Cat. II. 11. — **marcebant**: not in Caesar or Cicero. — **adfectissimi**: ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

2. **Amyntas**: king of Galatia and Lycaonia. — **Dellius**: Q. Dellius, one of Antony's lieutenants. He was notorious for his fickleness in politics. Horace addressed Od. II. 3 to him, *Aequam memento . . . moriture Delli.* — **exempli sui tenax**: *clinging to his usual custom.* — **ad Cassium . . . transiit**: the lacuna was filled by Ruhnken in accordance with the historical facts. — **nomine salutavit**: cf. Suet. Vesp. 15, *Helvidio Prisco, qui et reversum se ex Syria solus privato nomine Vespasianum salutaverat.* — **Leucas**: a promontory on the island of Leucadia; now *Capo Ducato.* — **Patrae**: a city on the coast of Achaia. — **Corinthus**: a famous city of the Peloponnesus. Cf. I. 13. 1, *Eodem*

anno, quo Carthago concidit, L. Mummius Corinthum post annos nongentos quinquaginta duos, quam ab Alete Hippotis filio erat condita, funditus eruit. In § 4 of the same chapter, Velleius thus relates the well-known anecdote concerning the art treasures sent by Mummius from Corinth to Rome: *Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, iuberet praedici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros.*

85. 1. **maximi discriminis dies**: *discriminis* in the sense of *certaminis*. The battle of Actium took place, September 2, 31 B.C. "This date has been formally recorded by historians as signalizing the termination of the republic and the commencement of the Roman monarchy;" Merivale, III. p. 257. — **in**: final.

2. **navium Iulianarum**: so called because Octavius was the heir and representative, and consequently the avenger, of Julius Caesar. — **Agrippae . . . arbitrium**: Plutarch says that Octavius commanded on the right and Agrippa on the left. — **classici**: = *navalis*. — **Publicolae Sosioque**: according to Plutarch, Publicola with Antony commanded on the right, and Coelius, not Sosius, on the left. — **Taurus**: T. Statilius Taurus. Cf. 127. 1. — **Canidius**: cf. 87. 3.

4. **detracto capite**: their commander, Antony, had fled. — **in mortem dimicabatur**: i.e. *ne inulti morerentur.* — **cum quo**: *against whom.* This form is used, instead of *quocum*, to give more emphasis to *cum.*

5. **fuitque in . . . officio**: *And undoubtedly the soldiers performed the part of a most excellent commander, and the commander the part of a most cowardly soldier.* Note the zeugma. The phrase *in confesso* is equivalent to an adverb.

6. **eius**: i.e. Cleopatra. — **Idem**: the neuter accusative. It refers to *aegre summissis . . . victoriam*, above.

86. Octavius' clemency after his victory. Memorable deed of Asinius Pollio.

1. **ex quo . . . publica**: The republic passed from an oligarchy, which is the rule of a few, to a monarchy, or the rule of one man. For the disasters to Rome, and the changes in the subsequent course of history that might have been occasioned by the defeat of Octavius and the success of Antony at Actium, see Merivale, III. pp. 254, 255. — **transcursu**: see on 55. 1.

2. **qui . . . sustinerent**: *who could not bear to plead, even for themselves.* — **modum**: added by Rhenanus. — **prisca gravitate**: "old-time integrity." — **fides . . . incolumem**: Sosius was saved by the devotion of Arruntius and the mercy of Octavius. — **clementia**: in the ablative. — **eluctatus**: governs *odium* and agrees with *Caesar.*

3. **Non praetereatur**: *non* is rarely used with the hortatory subjunctive. Velleius has *non fraudetur gloria*, 12. 6; but cf. 92. 1, *factum ne fraudetur memoria.* — **Asinii Pollionis**: see on 63. 3. — **Brundusinam pacem**: cf. 76. 3, *pax circa Brundusium composita.* — **neque . . . umquam**: = *et numquam.* The negation belongs to *miscuisset* as well as to *vidisset.* — **enervatum**: a perfect participle, agreeing with *animum*, in place of a verbal noun in English. — **amore eius**: sc. *Cleopatrae;* objective genitive. — **partibus eius**: Antony's party. — **maiora**: *too great.* — **notiora**: *too well known.* — **discrimini**: cf. 85. 1. For this use of the dative, see Introduction, II., Dative.

87. Octavius goes to Alexandria and completes the civil war. Death of Antony and Cleopatra. Excursus on the clemency of Octavius.

1. **ultimam . . . manum**: cf. the English colloquial expression "to put on the finishing touch." — **Antonius . . . interemit**: another example of that rashness, courage, or despair, call it what we will, that the best and the worst of the Romans, men like Cato and men like Antony, manifested in the face of hopeless defeat. — **frustratis**: the deponent *frustrari* is here used passively. Cf. 43. 2, *frustratum esse visum suum;* and 21. 2, *frustratus spe.* — **aspide morsu eius**: the exact method of Cleopatra's death has never been determined. It was reported at the time that her death was caused by the bite of a serpent, but the truth of the report cannot be established, neither can its falsity be clearly shown. The story has gained currency in many ways. Cf. Prop. III. 11. 53,

> Bracchia spectavi sacris admorsa colubris,
> Et trahere occultum membra soporis iter.

This couplet refers to the image of the queen borne in Octavius' triumph in Rome. — **spiritum reddidit**: Cleopatra died in her fortieth year, the last of the royal race of the Ptolemies, who had ruled over Egypt for 294 years. She was undoubtedly a woman of

great ability, and will always be considered one of the most striking and remarkable characters in human history.

2. **quod . . . interemptus est**: the correctness of this statement has been called in question. The allusions to Canidius and Cassius, below, would seem to conflict with it. It is also held that Antyllus, who was the son of Antony and Fulvia, Caesarion, and Ovinius were put to death by order of Octavius. — **D. Brutum**: cf. 64. 1. — **Sextum Pompeium**: cf. 79. 5.

3. **Canidius . . . decessit**: the manner of his death is not clearly indicated. See note on § 2, above. — **professioni**: this is taken by some to mean "declaration," or "promise," but on account of the clause, *qua . . . erat*, it is better to refer it to his occupation. Canidius was "a soldier by profession." — **Parmensis Cassius**: Cassius of Parma was a poet of some talent. He was a military tribune under Brutus and Cassius. After the defeat at Philippi, he retired to Athens, where he was put to death. — **Trebonius primus**: *primus* was added by Aldus, but placed by him before *Trebonius*, after it by Halm. Cf. 56. 3.

88. M. Lepidus, son of the triumvir, having formed a plot to kill Octavius, was put to death by Maecenas. Suicide of Servilia, wife of Lepidus.

1. **Alexandrinoque**: Octavius followed Antony and Cleopatra to Alexandria, where Antony made a feeble attempt at resistance. — **M. Lepidus . . . inierat**: cf. Suet. Aug. 19. — **melior**: for *eximior* or *praestantior*. — **simul**: equivalent to *simul atque*. Used with the subjunctive *revertisset*, though temporal clauses with this particle usually take the indicative. The subjunctive expresses the thought of the conspirators.

2. **C. Maecenas**: Maecenas was of Etruscan descent, a man of great wealth and refinement. He was a friend and adviser of Augustus, a writer of some ability, and a patron of the most eminent literary men of his day. Horace abounds in allusions to him; cf. Sat. I. 1, *Qui fit, Maecenas;* Od. II. 17. 2, *Nec dis amicum est . . . te prius Obire, Maecenas.* — **splendido . . . natus**: cf. Hor. Od. I. 1, *Maecenas, atavis edite regibus.* — **ubi . . . exigeret**: iterative subjunctive, common in Livy and Tacitus. See Roby, II. p. 312, where this example is cited. Cf. *quicumque . . . tradidisset*, 62. 2. — **simul . . . posset**: *simul* is here used in place of

ubi, *but whenever*, and hence the subjunctive *posset*, like *exigeret* above. — **otio ac fluens**: cf. Cic. Lael. 15, *deliciis diffluentes.* — **ultra feminam**: this expression is equivalent to *magis quam femina; ultra* in reference to a person is used figuratively. — **Agrippa**: ablative of comparison. — **clavi . . . contentus**: see Critical Appendix. For the meaning of *angusti clavi*, cf. Ov. Trist. IV. 10. 35,

> Curia restabat; clavi mensura coacta est,
> Maius erat nostris viribus illud onus.

The sons of senators and equites were sometimes given the special privilege of wearing the *latus clavus* from the time they assumed the *toga virilis* until they reached the senatorial age; then, if they did not wish to continue in the regular course of public honors, they assumed the *angustus clavus*, the sign of equestrian rank. — **nec**: = *et non; non* modifies *minora.*

3. **male consultorum**: for this use of the adverb, cf. Cic. Cat. M. 19. 69, *recte factis;* and see A. & G. 207, c; G. 438, 1; H. 548, note 2. — **praedictae**: sc. *Calpurniae.* Cf. 26. 3, *Non perdat nobilissimi facti gloriam Calpurnia, Bestiae filia, uxor Antistii, quae iugulato, ut praediximus, viro gladio se ipsa transfixit.* Antistius was put to death as a partisan of Sulla. — **vivo . . . devorato**: *by swallowing live coals.* — **immortalem**: emphasized by its proximity to *praematura morte*, with which it is contrasted.

89. Joy at Octavius' return to Italy. He refuses the dictatorship.

1. **reversus in Italiam**: 29 B.C. — **quo occursu**: the senate decreed that when Octavius reached Rome, the people, the senators, and the Vestals should meet him and conduct him into the city. — **aetatium**: see on *civitatium*, 42. 2. — **triumphorum eius**: cf. Suet. Aug. 22, *Curulis triumphos tris egit, Delmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes.* He dedicated at this time the Julian Basilica, the ruins of which are now visible in the Forum. — **munerum**: i.e. *spectaculorum.* The game of Troy was reproduced. Cf. Suet. Aug. 43; Verg. Aen. V. 545–603. In the sports of the amphitheatre the rhinoceros and hippopotamus were exhibited for the first time in Rome. — **iusti**: see on *iustis*, 48. 5.

2. **deinde**: Ruhnken suggested *denique.*

3. **Finita . . . civilia**: the civil war between Pompey and Caesar began, 49 B.C. — **armorum furor**: see on *facem*, 48. 3. — **tantum-**

modo . . . duo: *only two.* The office of praetor was established, 366 B.C. It was at first "a kind of third consulship." In the year 246, two praetors were appointed. The number was increased by Sulla to eight and raised by Julius Caesar ultimately to sixteen. *Octo* is probably used in reference to the number before Julius Caesar had made any changes. Octavius fixed the limit at twelve, but this number was increased after his time. Two, the *praetor urbanus* and the *praetor peregrinus*, chosen by lot from all the praetors, had *iurisdictio* in civil causes. .The others presided in the *quaestiones perpetuae* for the trial of crimes, and in the time of the empire had charge of the public games. See on 59. 2 ; cf. Tac. Agr. 6. 4 ; see Smith's Dict. Antiq.

4. **Prisca . . . revocata**: Octavius' policy was one of peace. He wished to retain the forms and offices of the republic, while he held all the power in his own hands. Tac. Ann. I. 2, thus states his peaceful, but crafty plan: *posito triumviri nomine consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus, magistratuum, legum in se trahere, nullo adversante.* — **cultus . . . possessio**: cf. Hor. Od. IV. 15. — **salubriter**: equivalent to *utiliter, commode.* — **Principes . . . sunt**: cf. Suet. Aug. 29 ; Mon. Ancyr. IV., *Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex decreto senatus refeci.* Note the zeugma, *functi* with *triumphis.*

6. **pacatusque . . . orbis**: cf. Flor. IV. 12; Suet. Aug. 22; Liv. 1. 19. — **principatus**: the *principate* of Octavius began in January, 27 B.C. By the will of the senate and people and under constitutional forms he was made *princeps*, i.e. the actual and legal head of the state.

90. Peace secured in Dalmatia, Alpine regions, and Spain.

1. **coalescentibus**: cf. Liv. 1. 8, *coalescere in populi unius corpus.* — **etiam coaluere**: see Critical Appendix. — **quae**, etc.: the sentence is equivalent to *etiam pacatae sunt provinciae tam diu bellis laceratae;* Halm. — **certam confessionem**: in 39. 3, Velleius has, *certam Hispanis parendi confessionem extorserat.* — **ipsius**: i.e. Octavius.

2. **initio**: used adverbially. — **Scipione . . . consulibus**: consuls, 218 B.C. — **abhinc annos**: a favorite construction: cf. I. 6. 2;

12. 5; 14. 3; 15. 2; II. 2. 2; 4. 5; 10. 1; 12. 1; 100. 2; et passim. — **quinquaginta et ducentos**: this number either involves a slight error or is used loosely as a round number. Strictly it was but 248 years. — **multo . . . sanguine**: Ruhnken praises this, and compares it with Liv. 2. 64, *pugnatum utrimque plurimo sanguine*.

3. **Viriatho**: a Lusitanian shepherd. He led a revolt against the Romans, 150 B.C. He was finally put to death by some of his own men, who had been bribed by the consul Caepio. — **Numantini belli**: cf. 1. 3, *Sed interempto Viriatho fraude magis quam virtute Servilii Caepionis Numantinum gravius exarsit.* This war lasted from 143 to 133 B.C. — **Q. Pompei**: consul, 141 B.C. He was the first Pompeius to arrive at the dignity of the consulship. — **Mancini**: C. Hostilius Mancinus, consul, 137 B.C. — **dediti imperatoris**: sc. *Mancini*. Cf. 1. 5, *per fetialis nudus ac post tergum religatis manibus dederetur hostibus. Quem illi recipere se negaverunt, . . . dicentes publicam violationem fidei non debere unius lui sanguine.* — **illa**: sc. *regio*. — **Sertorium**: Sertorius was a member of the Marian party, and carried on war in Spain from 79 to 72 B.C. He won over the natives to his side, and defeated several armies sent against him by the Roman government. Pompey brought the war to a successful termination, but not until Sertorius had been assassinated by Perperna, one of his subordinates, who hoped to succeed him in command. — **quinquennium**: the war lasted eight years. See above, on *Sertorium*. — **alteri**: we would expect *utri*, to correspond to *uter*.

4. **eam**: with the force of *talem*. — **P. Silio**: see on 83. 3. — **postea**: attributive to *ceteris*; see on *mox*, 46. 4.

91. Roman standards regained from the Parthians by Augustus (by which name Octavius is now known; see on 59). Death of the conspirators, Murena and Caepio, and Egnatius Rufus.

1. **signa . . . remissa sunt**: the standards were returned to Augustus, 20 B.C. Cf. Suet. Aug. 21; Flor. IV. 12. 63. Some of the coins struck in honor of this event, with figures of the standards and the legend *signis receptis*, are still extant. — **Orodes . . . Phraates**: see on *Orodes*, 46. 4. — **Quod cognomen**: this name was given to Octavius in January, 27 B.C. He had wisely refrained from asking for or accepting the title of *dictator* or *rex*. *Quirinus* and *Romulus* had been suggested as appropriate, but he rejected

each on grounds of prudence. Cf. Suet. Aug. 7; Flor. IV. 12. 66, *Tractatum etiam in senatu, an quia condidisset imperium Romulus vocaretur; sed sanctius et reverentius visum est nomen Augusti;* also Ov. Fast. I. 609. — **sententia**: ablative; *on the motion of Plancus.*

2. **L. Murena et Fannius Caepio**: men of some eminence in Rome. In the year 23 B.C. they formed plans for killing Augustus. They were condemned in their absence, and, it is supposed, privily put out of the way.

3. **Rufus Egnatius**: M. Egnatius Rufus during the absence of Augustus, 19 B.C., created a disturbance in the state, while seeking the consulship. Cf. 92. 4. — **per omnia**: see on 69. 6. — **extinguendis . . . incendiis**: Rome suffered severely from fires. Before the time of Augustus there was but little provision against them. Crassus is said to have acquired much property by buying buildings that were on fire, and then extinguishing the flames by the aid of slaves, trained for the purpose. Augustus, 6 B.C., organized a police and fire department consisting of seven thousand men, under the command of a *praefectus vigilum.* The *vigiles* were distributed throughout the city to preserve order and guard against fire. See Lanciani's Ancient Rome, ch. VIII. — **ei**: sc. *aedilitati.* — **continuaret**: = *continuo et sine intervallo iungeret.* — **omni**: see on *manifestarum,* 83. 2. — **salvo . . . poterat**: cf. 49. 3.

4. **ita se . . . habent, ut**: cf. 118. 4, *quippe ita se res habet, ut;* Cic. de Orat. III. 23, *Res quidem se . . . sic habet, ut.* — **publica . . . conspici**: *Trita sententia, sed Velleiano acumine expolita;* Ruhnken. — **abditusque carceri**: see Critical Appendix. For the dative with *abdo,* see Harper's Lat. Lex. s.v. II. (ε). — **mortem obiit**: *he met death.* Cf. Plaut. Aul. Prol. 15, *Ubi is obiit mortem.*

92. Remarkable severity of the consul, Sentius Saturninus.

1. **C. Sentii Saturnini**: consul, 19 B.C., — part of the year alone, because Augustus was unwilling to hold the office while absent in Asia. — **circa ea tempora**: this use of *circa* is very common in later writers of the Silver Age. In I. 17. 1, *in Accio circaque eum Romana tragoedia est,* Velleius employs it in a very rare use, to designate a period of time by a person belonging to it.

2. **in ordinandis**: if *in* be retained, sc. *occupatus.* — **sua**: see

Critical Appendix. — **pacis suae**: Velleius gives Augustus the credit of securing peace, an honor which undoubtedly belongs to him. — **cum . . . gessisset . . . tum . . . egit**: *cum* has a concessive force, and therefore is followed by the subjunctive. See on 48. 5. — **vetere . . . severitate**: see Critical Appendix. — **protraxisset**: equivalent to *in lucem protulisset.* — **praecipuum . . . consulem**: for *praecipue se praebuit consulem.* See on *agebat aemulum*, 109. 2.

3. **profiteri vetuit**: it was the duty of the consul to hold the *comitia.* He could refuse to receive the names of candidates *quos indignos iudicavit.* — **perseverarent**: sc. *dicere.* — **si in . . . descendissent**: sc. *Martium.* Cf. Hor. Od. III. 1. 10, *hic generosior Descendat in campum petitor.*

4. **Egnatium**: see on 91. 3. — **praeturae**: Vossius suggests that *praeturae* here means "propraetorship," because Egnatius was praetor before, and not at the time that he sought the consulship. — **obtinuisset**: sc. *Sentius.* — **non renuntiaturum**: the magistrate presiding at the election might refuse to declare the name of the candidate chosen by the century giving its vote first, *praerogativa centuria*, and require the century to vote again.

5. **comparandum**: see on *explicandas*, 46. 1.

93. Death of M. Marcellus. Agrippa marries Julia.

1. **M. Marcellus**: M. Claudius Marcellus, commonly known as the "young Marcellus." He died at the age of eighteen. Cf. Vergil's famous lines, Aen. VI. 868–886. — **ita**: restrictive. Translate *ut tamen . . . non existimarent, but yet they thought that honor would not fall to his lot without opposition from Agrippa.* — **virtutum**: genitive of quality. — **laetusque animi**: cf. Tac. Ann. II. 26, *miles laetus animi.* — **fortunaeque**: for the genitive with *capax*, cf. 127. 3; also Tac. Ann. I. 11, *mentem tantae molis capacem.* — **alebatur**: for *educabatur.*

2. **ministeriorum**: not in Caesar or Cicero, who use *munus* and *officium* in this sense. — **principalium**: i.e. *pro principe.* See on *principatus*, 89. 6. — **ut . . . loquitur**: By using this formula Velleius wisely avoids the appearance of too much curiosity in regard to court secrets. — **ob tacitas . . . offensiones**: ∓ *ob secretas inimicitias.* — **Iuliam**: the daughter of Augustus and his first wife, Scribonia. Cf. 96. 1; 100. 3, 4. — **neque . . .**

uteri: *whose children were blessings neither to herself nor to the state.*

94. Tib. Claudius Nero (afterwards the Emperor Tiberius) begins to take part in public affairs. His deeds in the East.

1. **Ti. Claudius Nero**: the Emperor Tiberius. — **trimo**: cf. *bimum*, 75. 3. There is no contradiction or discrepancy. The marriage of Augustus and Livia occurred about a year after her flight, referred to in 75. 3. — **ut praediximus**: in 79. 2.

2. **innutritus . . . disciplinis**: *trained by the study of noble principles.* — **iuvenis . . . instructissimus**: *a youth possessing, in the highest degree, distinction of birth, personal beauty, dignity of bearing, and mental culture.* — **celsitudine**: for *altitudine, excelsitate*; rare, except in late Latin. — **qui . . . potuerat**: *who, in early years, gave promise of becoming the great man that he now is.* The subjunctive *esset* might be expected in place of *est*, in a dependent sentence, but the present indicative is much more forcible. It shows that the greatness of Tiberius is not referred to past time, but to the actual present; Kritz.

3. **Ostiae**: a city at the mouth of the Tiber. — **vitrici**: i.e. Augustus. — **inopiam . . . est**: *moderari, to restrain, to lessen,* with the accusative, is post-Augustan — **evasurus**: see on *evasuri*, 42. 1.

4. **Armeniam . . . potestatem**: Armenia was not made a Roman province until 114 A.D. — **Artavasdi dedit**: according to Tacitus, Ann. II. 3. 4, Tigranes was first placed upon the throne, but reigned only a short time. Afterwards, by order of Augustus, the kingdom was given to Artavasdes. Velleius has made no allusion to Tigranes, referring simply to Artavasdes, who was placed upon the throne by Tiberius in accordance with the commands of Augustus. His account is less complete, but does not necessarily conflict with that of Tacitus.

95. Victories of Tiberius and Drusus over the Raeti and Vindelici. Censorship of Plancus and Paulus.

1. **Druso Claudio**: born 38 B.C.; surnamed Germanicus on account of his victories. His death, in the year 9 B.C., was caused by a fall from his horse. His soldiers erected a monument to his memory in the Roman camp at Mogontiacum (Mainz). Part of the monument is still standing inside of the German citadel.

Horace dedicated Od. IV. 4 to Drusus. For his character, see 97. 2, 3. — **penates**: metonymy.

2. **uterque adgressi**: see on 63. 3. — **Raetos Vindelicosque**: Raetia and Vindelicia included parts of what are now Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Bavaria. Raetia, including Vindelicia, was made a Roman province, 15 B.C. — **earum**: sc. *gentium.*

3. **Planci**: see on 63. 3. — **Pauli**: Aemilius Paulus was censor with Plancus, 22 B.C. — **vita**: i.e. character. — **implere censorem**: equivalent to *vim et auctoritatem censoris plenè praestare;* Georges. — **timere deberet**: sc. *censorem;* because of his own lack of character. — **quod . . . senex**: *which he did not acknowledge, although an old man.* Plancus himself was guilty of all the base things that could be charged against young men.

96. After the death of Agrippa, Julia marries Tiberius Nero. Success of the latter in the Pannonian war.

1. **Mors . . . Agrippae**: 12 B.C. — **novitatem**: cf. 34. 3, *M. Cicero, vir novitatis nobilissimae.* Agrippa came from a very obscure family. — **Neronis . . . socer**: Nero, i.e. Tiberius, first married Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa. — **cuius**: refers to Agrippa. — **nepotes suos**: i.e. the sons of Agrippa and Julia, the daughter of Augustus. — **Gai ac Lucii**: appositional genitives. These were the most common *praenomina* in the Julian *gens.* — **admovit**: the subject is *mors.*

2. **bellum Pannonicum**: Pannonia extended from Noricum on the west, and Illyricum on the south, as far as the Danube; and corresponded to lower Austria and a part of Hungary. Augustus engaged in war with the Pannonians, 33 B.C. They were finally conquered by Tiberius, 9 A.D., and in the following year the country became a Roman province. — **Marcoque . . . consulari**: consul, 19 B.C. See Critical Appendix.

3. **Gentes . . . nationes**: *gens* (*gigno*) is more comprehensive than *natio* (*nascor*). *Omnes gentis Germanorum nationes arma contra communem hostem ceperunt;* Meissner, Lat. Syn. But the two words are often used, as here, without any distinction in meaning. — **situmque . . . multiplices**: note the connectives. — **eo bello**: observe the attributive force of this adverbial expression. — **alio loco**: Velleius alludes to another work which he intended to write. For other similar allusions, see 99. 3; 103. 4; 114. 4;

119. 1. — **ovans triumphavit**: cf. 122. 1, *ovans triumphare.* An *ovatio* was "a lesser triumph." See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. For the distinction between an ovation and a triumph, see Gell. V. 6. 20–27. For the derivation of the verb, *ovo*, from √AW, √WA, see Skeat's Etymol. Dict., s.v. *ovation;* and note on same in Peck's Suetonius, p. 176. For the popular derivation from *ovis,* because a sheep and not a bull, as in the triumph, was sacrificed, see Smith's Dict. Antiq. s.v. *Ovatio.*

97. The defeat of Lollius in Germany calls Augustus to Gaul. Claudius Drusus is placed in command. After the death of Drusus the command is given to Tiberius, who wins a triumph.

1. **M. Lollio**: Lollius was consul, 21 B.C.; commander in Germany, 17 B.C. Cf. 102. 1. Of his defeat Suetonius (Aug. 23) says, *maioris infamiae quam detrimenti.* — **vocavit**: *clades* and *aquila* are its subjects. — **in Gallias**: the defeat of Lollius, *clades Lolliana,* took place on the left bank of the lower Rhine, which the Germans had crossed.

2. **Druso Claudio**: see on 95. 1. — **tot . . . recipit**: a good example of the extravagant statements of which Velleius was fond. Drusus deserved praise, but Velleius seems almost incapable of praising or blaming in plain, unemphatic terms.

3. **et adversus . . . aestimatio**: "his modest bearing toward his friends." — **inimitabilis**: post-Augustan. — **magna . . . Germaniae**: while the Germans were not subdued, "their spirit of aggression was finally checked, and from henceforth, for many generations, they were fully occupied with the task of defending themselves." Merivale. Cf. Tac. Germ. 37. — **fatorum . . . rapuit**: cf. Flor. IV. 12. 28, *Denique non per adulationem, sed ex meritis, defuncto ibi fortissimo iuvene, ipsi, quod numquam alias, senatus cognomen ex provincia dedit.* See on 95. 1.

4. **sua . . . fortuna**: *with his usual good fortune.* — **peragratus**: deponent only in this form. See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. *per-agro,* I. β. — **commissi**: *entrusted to him.* — **quod . . . fuit**: cf. 115. 5. — **stipendiariae**: for *tributariae,* paying tribute in money. The country on the left bank of the Rhine was formed into two provinces, Germania Superior and Inferior, 17 A.D. Germany on the right bank never became a Roman province. — **alter triumphus**: for the first, see 96. 3. — **altero consulatu**: 7 B.C.

98. L. Piso brings the war in Thrace to a close. Praise of Piso.

1. **Thracia**: now a part of Roumelia. It was made a Roman province, 46 A.D. — **gentis nationibus**: for the distinction in meaning, see on 96. 3. — **L. Pisonis**: L. Calpurnius Piso, consul, 15 B.C. He was for many years prefect of the city under Tiberius. It was to this Piso and his sons that Horace dedicated the *Ars Poetica*. Cf. Tac. Ann. VI. 10. — **securitatis . . . custodem**: i.e. *praefectum urbis*. Cf. 88. 2, *urbis custodiis praepositus;* also Iuv. 13. 157, *custos urbis*.

2. **triennio**: for construction, see on 44. 5. The war began, 12 B.C. — **eiusque patratione**: *and by accomplishing this. eius* refers to the clause, *in pristinum . . . modum. patratione* is used for *perfectione*, and in this sense it is rare and post-Augustan; but cf. 79. 3, *patrando;* also Liv. 1. 24, *pater patratus ad iusiurandum patrandum*.

3. **mixtissimos**: ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. Ruhnken suggested *temperatissimos*. — **validius**: the full form instead of the less common *valdius*.

99. Tiberius associated with Augustus in the enjoyment of the tribunician power. Tiberius retires to Rhodes.

1. **tribuniciae potestatis**: the *potestas tribunicia* was conferred on Augustus for life, 23 B.C. It made him the head of the people, as he was already the head of the senate and the commander of the army. It was, as Merivale says, "the keystone of the whole imperial edifice." In the year 6 B.C., this power was given to Tiberius, to be enjoyed by him, as colleague of Augustus, for five years. — **post unum**: *excepting one*, i.e. *excepting Augustus*. — **quia volebat**: to have been unwilling would have been rebellion on his part. — **alterum . . . lumen**: cf. Cic. Cat. M. 11. 35, *alterum lumen civitatis*.

2. **pietate**: *filial devotion*. Tiberius was both *gener* and *privignus* of Augustus. Cf. § 2, *socero atque eodem vitrico*. — **Gaius Caesar . . . Lucius**: cf. 96. 1. Gaius assumed the *toga virilis* at the age of fifteen. — **dissimulata . . . sui**: there have been various conjectures of the true cause. Merivale assigns it to the "dark humor of his race," to a desire "to shake off the restraints of his position." Tacitus (Ann. I. 53) attributes his retirement

to his unhappy union with Julia, the daughter of Augustus. — **commeatum**: *permission. adquiescendi* depends upon it.

3. **iusto . . . operi**: see on *alio loco*, 96. 3.

4. **transcursu**: see on 55. 1. — **septem . . . moratum**: he retired to Rhodes, 6 B.C. — **sunt**: added by Halm. — **Rhodum deverterint**: see Critical Appendix. — **privato, si illa**: so Lipsius. *privatos illa*, A P. — **si . . . fuit**: cf. 94. 2, *visuque praetulerat principem.*

100. Rebellions in Parthia and Germany. Character of Julia, daughter of Augustus.

1. **adiecit . . . manum**: *adiecit* for *iniecit.* Cf. Liv. 2. 12, *dextramque . . . foculo inicit.* Burmann proposed *animum* in place of *manum.*

2. **Gallo Caninio**: L. Caninius Gallus was consul, 2 B.C. — **dedicato Martis templo**: before the battle of Philippi Augustus vowed the temple of *Mars Ultor*, on condition that Mars would give him the victory, and avenge the death of Julius Caesar. It was erected in the new Forum which was constructed by Augustus. Three lofty Corinthian columns with entablature and part of the wall of the *cella* are still standing. Cf. Ov. Fast. V. 550. — **repleverat**: see on 56. 1. — **horrenda**: mostly poetic and post-Augustan; Caesar and Cicero use *horribilis.* It agrees with *tempestas*, while *memoria* is in the ablative, like *dictu.* — **ipsius**: sc. *Augusti.* — **tempestas**: *calamity.*

3. **per omnia**: see on 69. 6. — **quod . . . reliquit**: note zeugma in the use of *infectum* with *pati.* — **magnitudinem . . . licentia**: chiasmus. — **quidquid liberet**: see on *quicumque . . . tradidissent*, 62. 2.

4. **Iulus Antonius**: son of Mark Antony and Fulvia. — **ipse . . . fuit**: *he was himself the avenger of his own crime.* He was compelled to commit suicide; but cf. Tac. Ann. IV. 44. 5, *Iulo Antonio ob adulterium Iuliae morte punito.* According to Merivale (IV. p. 211), he was also guilty of conspiring against the life of Augustus, and so was punished by order of the latter, for a double reason. — **donaverat . . . honoratum**: the real authority was vested in Augustus, though the offices of the republic were retained and the people were allowed to enjoy some of the outward forms of power. — **sororis . . . filiae**: Iulus Antony married Mar-

cella, the daughter of Augustus' sister, Octavia, and Marcellus. — **adfinitatem**: connection by marriage in distinction from relationship by blood.

5. **Crispinus, Claudius, Scipio**: not otherwise known. — **protegens**: *protegere* in the sense of *celare* is very rare. See Lat. Lex. s.v. — **Sempronius Gracchus**: for an account of his crimes and punishment, see Tac. Ann. I. 53. 4–9. — **utriusque ordinis**: senatorial and equestrian. — **quasi . . . violata**: note the ablative absolute with *quasi*. Cf. also 47. 3 and 117. 1, for the same construction with *veluti*, *velut*. This usage is not common in the best writers. — **poenas**: they were exiled. — **cum**: concessive. — **Iulia . . . insulam**: Julia was first banished to the island of Pandataria on the Campanian coast, afterwards to Rhegium, where she died, 14 A.D., a few months after Tiberius became emperor. — **Scribonia**: Augustus divorced Scribonia in order to marry Livia.

101. C. Caesar sent to the East. Velleius one of his retinue.

1. **C. Caesar**: the son of Agrippa; see on 96. 1. In the year 1 B.C., Gaius Caesar, then twenty years of age, was sent on a mission to the East. — **convento . . . habuit**: according to Suetonius (Tib. 12), Tiberius crossed over from Rhodes to Samos, and paid court to the young Caesar, but was not treated by the latter with very much respect. — **prius**: i.e. before he entered Syria, to which he had been sent. — **vituperaturum**: for a new derivation, in place of *vitium-paro*, see Kuhn's Zeitschrift, XXXI. p. 280, where it is held by Sabler that *vitupero* is from *vi-* and the $\sqrt{}$*tup*, seen in Sk. *tupáti*; Greek, *τύπτω*. — **rege Parthorum**: Phraates was then king of Parthia.

2. **ex diverso**: this seems to be superfluous with *hinc* and *illinc*. — **eminentissima . . . capita**: Gaius Caesar was looked upon as the probable heir of Augustus, and therefore as the future head of the Roman empire. Parthia, the successor of the Persian empire, and the power that had long held the Romans in check in the East, was considered the one great obstacle in the way of the Romans to universal dominion. — **sub . . . meorum**: *soon after the beginning of my military service.*

3. **patre tuo**: P. Vinicius, consul, 2 A.D. — **P. Silio**: see on 83. 3. — **auspicatus**: *auspicari* from *auspex* (*avispex*), *a birdseer,* meant originally to observe birds and to interpret the omens from

their movements, *to take the auspices.* As this was associated with the beginnings of important undertakings, the verb came to mean, as here, *to begin.* — **ore**: the Thracian Bosporus. — **utroque . . . latere**: the shores of Thrace and Asia Minor. — **maris Pontici**: the *Pontus Euxinus*, now the Black Sea. — **haud iniucunda**: litotes.

102. Perfidy and death of Lollius. Death of Censorinus. C. Caesar, having been wounded while in Armenia, dies in Lycia. His brother, L. Caesar, while on his way to Spain, dies at Marseilles.

1. **M. Lollii**: see on 97. 1. — **moderatorem**: *tutor*. Cf. Mart. 2. 90. 1, *iuventae moderator.* — **iuventae**: poetic and post-Augustan for *iuventus.* — **consilia**: the object of *vulgavit.* — **cuius**: i.e. Lollius. — **secuta**: added by Halm. — **laetati**: sc. *sunt.* — **Censorinum**: C. Marcius Censorinus, consul, 8 B.C., and afterwards governor of Syria. He died when C. Caesar was in Asia, 2 A.D. — **demerendis**: from *demereri* in the sense of *gratiam alicuius captare.* Cf. Tac. Ann. XV. 21, *Plura saepe peccantur, dum demeremur quam dum offendimus.*

2. **mox . . . crediderat**: cf. Flor. IV. 12. 44, 45. — **Artageram**: Artagera was a city in central Armenia, northwest of Mount Ararat. — **Adduo**: *Addon*, the commander of Artagera; Merivale.

3. **conversatio**: from *converso*, the frequentative of *converto.* For the derivation of English *conversation* and its original meaning, see Skeat's Etymol. Dict., s.v. *converse.* — **consenescere**: "to spend his days." Gaius asked Augustus to relieve him of official duties, and to allow him to remain in Syria. The East, with its wealth and luxury, had many attractions for the Romans. — **revertens**: at the earnest request of Augustus. Merivale cites Gell. XV. 7. 3, as evidence of the affection entertained by Augustus for Gaius. The passage contains, *exemplum epistulae Augusti ad Gaium.* — **Limyra**: on a river of the same name in Lycia. — **morbo . . . decessisset**: Gaius died, 4 A.D. Cf. Flor. IV. 12. 42, *in Syria Gaius ex volnere occubuit.* Suetonius agrees with Velleius in the matter of place, but not in regard to the time between the death of Gaius and Lucius; cf. Suet. Aug. 65, *in duodeviginti mensium spatio.*

103. Tiberius returns from Rhodes and is adopted by Augustus.

1. **fortuna**: Velleius refers very often to Fate and Fortune, but not so often to the gods. Cf. 57. 3, *ineluctabilis fatorum vis;* 97. 3, *fatorum iniquitas;* 118. 4; 123. 2. References to Fortune as a goddess, controlling the affairs of men, are found in 53. 3; 69. 6; 72. 1; 80. 1; 116. 3; 117. 1. He was influenced by the spirit of the age in which he lived, and therefore ascribed more power to destiny, or chance, than to the gods of early Rome. —**spem . . . nominis**: in reference to C. and L. Caesar; so *utriusque horum*, below. —**P. Vinicio**: see on *patre tuo*, 101. 3. —**Ti. Nero . . . Rhodo**: in July, 2 A.D. Cf. Suet. Tib. 13, *Permittente ergo Gaio revocatus est.*

2. **quaerendus . . . eminebat**: note the chiasmus.

3. **adhuc**: see Introduction, II., Adverbs. —**utriusque**: see on 50. 4. —**tribuniciae . . . consortionem**: see on 99. 1. Cf. Tac. Ann. I. 3, *consors tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur;* Suet. Tib. 16, *Data rursus potestas tribunicia in quinquennium.* This occurred in the year 4 A.D. —**Aelio Cato**: Sex. Aelius Catus, consul, 4 A.D. —**C. Sentio**: this was his second consulship. See on 77. 3. —**septingentis . . . quattuor**: according to the Varronian era, 757 A.U.C.

4. **concursumque civitatis**: for the purpose of holding the *comitia curiata*, by which the adoption had to be ratified; Krause. —**paene . . . manus**: note the hyperbole; the usual formula is *manus ad caelum tollere* or *tendere.* —**abunde**: with about the force of *satis.* —**implere**: equivalent to *plane explicare*, *exponere.* —**temptemus**: for the subjunctive with *nedum*, *still less*, see A. & G. 317, c, Rem.; G. 484, 3, Rem. 2; H. 483, 3, note.

5. **contenti**: added by Rhenanus. —**faustus**: added by Halm. Madvig proposed *omnibus faverit.* —**refulsit**: *refulgere* is here used for *renasci*, *to spring up again.* See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. II. —**spes . . . parentibus**: parents now had a reasonable hope of the safety of their children. —**parentibus . . . tranquillitatis**: asyndeton. —**potuerit**: the perfect subjunctive in a result clause after a secondary tense (*refulsit*, historical perfect) emphasizes the result; see A. & G. 287, c; G. 513; H. 495, VI.

104. M. Agrippa adopted on the same day as Tiberius. Tiberius sent to Germany; Velleius accompanies him.

1. **M. Agrippa**: M. Agrippa Postumus was then fifteen. He was awkward in person, unattractive in manner, and at times subject to uncontrollable anger. Two years later he was banished to Planasia, an island near Ilva. Immediately after the death of Augustus he was secretly put out of the way by the centurion who had him in charge. It is not known whether this was ordered by Augustus, Livia, or Tiberius. The latter publicly declared that it was not done at his command. For the character of Agrippa, and for his death, see 112. 7; Tac. Ann. I. 3; Suet. Aug. 65; id. Tib. 22.—**illud . . . verbis**: *the following was added, in the exact words of Caesar, to the usual formula of adoption.*

2. **morata**: used actively.—**M. Vinicio**: see on 96. 2.—**ab eo**: i.e. by M. Vinicius. —**sustentatum feliciter**: lit. *successfully endured;* i.e. a good defense had been made.—**eoque nomine**: *on that account, for that reason.*—**inscriptione . . . triumphalia**: a triumphal arch in honor of Vinicius with an inscription, enumerating his deeds, was erected in the Alps.—**operum**: for *rerum gestarum.*

3. **functum . . . tribunatu**: cf. 101. 2, 3.—**castrorum . . . militem**: explained by *praefectus equitum*, below.—**eius**: i.e. Ti. Caesar.—**pro captu**: = *natura.* This use of *captus* is post-classical. Caesar and Cicero have *ut est captus;* cf. B. G. 4. 3; and Tusc. 2. 27. 65.—**Neque illi . . . plenius**: *I think no other mortal will be permitted to behold such a spectacle as I saw, when, throughout the most populous regions of Italy and in all parts of Gaul, the people, as they saw again their old commander, who deserved to be Caesar before he was so in name, congratulated themselves even more heartily than they congratulated him.*—**quisque**: in partitive apposition with the plural subject of *gratularentur*, while *revisentes* agrees with the subject.

4. **At vero . . . cupiditas**: *militum* limits *lacrimae, alacritas, exultatio, cupiditas,* which are all to be taken with *potest.*—**conspectu . . . lacrimae**: *the tears shed from joy at sight of him* (*Tiberius*).—**contingendi manum**: cf. 107. 2. fin.; Tac. Ann. XV. 71; Plin. H. N. XI. 103.—**non . . . adiicerent**: *unable to restrain themselves from saying. continentium* agrees with *militum.*—**ego . . . donatus sum**: Ruhnken compares Cic. pro Muren. 18.

105. Various German tribes conquered. Sentius Saturninus, legate in Germany. Tiberius returns to Rome for the winter.

1. **Canninefates**: they inhabited the Batavian peninsula, called by Caesar, Pliny, and Tacitus, *insula;* now Holland. Cf. Tac. H. IV. 15. — **Attuarii**: the name of this tribe is somewhat uncertain. According to Vossius they were the Atthuarii of Amm. 20, 10. 2. Others think the Chattuarii, a branch of the Chatti, are referred to. — **Bructeri**: between the Rhine and the Ems. Cf. Tac. Germ. 33. — **Cherusci**: they dwelt east of the Weser. — **gentis eius Arminius**: see Critical Appendix. — **Visurgis**: now the Weser.

2. **ita**: restrictive. — **praediximus**: in 92. 1–5.

3. **aestiva**: sc. *castra*, *summer quarters*, i.e. *the campaign.* — **Decembrem**: from *decem*, *the tenth month;* so called by the early Romans, whose year began with March, and contained only ten months; cf. Ov. Fast. I. 27, 28, 39:

> Tempora digereret cum conditor urbis in anno
> Constituit menses quinque bis esse suo.
> Martis erat primus mensis.

— **Lupiae**: now the *Lippe*, a branch of the Rhine.

106, 107. Tiberius' victories in his second campaign.

1. **quanti voluminis**: referring to the larger work which Velleius intended to write. See on *alio loco*, 96. 3. — **tota**: not to be taken literally. — **Cauchorum**: the *Chauci*, written also *Chauchi*, *Cauci*, inhabited lower Germany from the Ems to the Elbe, and from Oldenburg and Bremen to the North Sea. Cf. Tac. Germ. 35, *Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent.* They were divided into *Maiores* and *Minores.* — **fulgenti**: so Verg. Aen. IX. 614; X. 414. *fulgente*, Hor. Car. Saec. 61; Sat. I. 6. 23. See Neue, II. 64. — **tribunal**: derived from *tribunus*, *tribus*, whence Eng. *tribe.* The *tribunal* was a raised platform in the Basilica on which the *praetor* and *iudices* sat. In the camp it was constructed of turf or stone. From it the commander addressed the troops, and upon it the tribunes of the soldiers sat to administer justice.

2. **Langobardi**: they dwelt on the left bank of the Elbe. Cf. Tac. Germ. 40. They moved southward in the fourth century, and in the sixth entered Italy, where they established a kingdom

that endured for two hundred years. Their name is still preserved in *Lombardy*. The popular etymology "Long-beards" is, at least, doubtful. — **gens . . . ferocior**: Ruhnken compares Quint. Decl. III. 13, *Inusitata corporum magnitudo, mores etiam Germanis feri.* — **ad . . . miliarium**: the distance is undoubtedly overestimated. — **Albim**: now the Elbe. — **Semnonum**: a tribe of the Suevi living on the right bank of the Elbe in the modern Brandenburg. Cf. Tac. Germ. 39. — **Hermundurorumque**: the Hermunduri occupied what is now Saxony.

3. **eodem**: sc. *tempore.* — **observantia**: ablative; used by Cicero in the sense of *regard, reverence.* It is here equivalent to *observatione.* — **Oceani**: the German Ocean. — **circumnavigaverat**: ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. — **ab**: *from.* — **inaudito . . . mari**: Drusus, 12 B.C., invaded Germany by sea and land, but his fleet did not sail so far north as that of Tiberius, and was ultimately wrecked and destroyed. — **parta**: added by Halm. Of this expedition Merivale (IV. p. 238) says, "it was the most remarkable for the success of its far-sighted arrangements of any recorded in ancient military history." He regrets the lack of details in the account of it, "which, if fully presented, would give us ample insight into the resources of the Roman power."

107. 1. **Non . . . mihi**: equivalent to *non possum tenere me, I cannot forbear.* Note the dative with *tempero*, and below the accusative (*genus*) with *temperans, controlling, managing.* For the different constructions with *tempero*, see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. — **fulgeret**: Krause thought this could hardly be said of the German arms, especially of those belonging to the more remote tribes. — **sub**: *at.* — **conatumque**: see Critical Appendix. — **refugientium**: to be taken with *hostium.* — **unus e barbaris**: this incident is related by Velleius alone. — **excellens**: *tall.* Not found in Cicero in this sense. — **cavatum . . . alveum**: a canoe, a "dug-out." — **ad medium . . . fluminis**: see on *per aversa castrorum*, 63. 1. — **petiit, liceret**: for *petiit ut liceret.*

2. **lintre**: *linter*, usually fem., is here masc. — **quae cum**: *since they. iuventus* is the antecedent of *quae.* — **vestrum**: genitive. — **quos . . . audiebam**: equivalent to *quos ante cognoveram auditione.* — **hodie . . . deos**: for these words and *cum vestrum . . . colat*, above, Velleius has been charged with gross flattery. He

is scarcely more open to criticism in this respect than some of the writers of the Augustan age. Cf. Verg. Ec. 1. 6–8, *namque erit ille mihi semper deus.* — **sine fine**: for *semper.*

3. **locorumque**: masc. as shown by *quos;* so in 108. 2 and 116. 1. In the plural *loca* is regularly used for *places, loci* for *topics.* For a full list of examples, see Neue, I. pp. 540–543.

108, 109. The Marcomanni and Maroboduus. Tiberius prepares to attack them.

1. **Marcomannorum**: the men of the "marches," the "borderers." Leaving the Rhine country, they took possession of what is now Bohemia. Cf. Tac. Germ. 42. — **Maroboduo**: ablative absolute with *duce.* Maroboduus was born, 18 B.C. He received his education and early training in Rome. He proved to be a wise leader of the Marcomanni, and established what was for a time a powerful kingdom. The last eighteen years of his life he spent in exile at Ravenna, where he died at the age of fifty-three. Cf. 119. 5; 129. 3; Tac. Ann. II. 62, 63; Suet. Tib. 37. — **incinctos**: *surrounded.* — **Hercynia silva**: a famous forest in ancient Germany; according to Caesar, sixty days' journey in length and nine in width. Cf. Caes. B. G. 6. 24, 25.

2. **transgredi**: meaning *silentio praeterire.* In this sense it is post-Augustan, and corresponds closely to the English *to pass over, to omit.* — **natione**: we would expect *gente. natione* may have been used because of its similarity in sound to *ratione,* with which it is contrasted. — **ex . . . constantem**: *depending upon the will of his subjects.* — **imperium**: the object of *occupavit.* — **vimque**: the object of *complexus.* — **procul a**: *far from.* — **iuris**: predicate possessive genitive.

109. 1. **Corpus . . . imperium**: see Critical Appendix. The following may be taken as the sense of the passage: "His army, through constant training, became almost as well disciplined as that of the Romans, and in a short time his power was so great that it excited fear even on the part of Rome herself." — **exercitiis**: not in Caesar or Cicero. The latter used *exercitatio.*

2. **Caesares**: i.e. Augustus and Tiberius. — **in totum**: *wholly, in all respects;* post-Augustan. — **ex . . . dissimulato**: *dissimulato* is used substantively, depending upon *ex.* The expression has an adverbial force, and is equivalent to *dissimulanter.* — **agebat**

aemulum: cf. 92. 2, *egit consulem;* 124. 2. The usual form in Cicero is *partes alicuius agere.* Render: *He acted the part, in all respects, and with but little disguise, of a rival.* — **exercitumque . . . fecerat**: cf. Caes. B. C. 3. 87, *cohortes esse factas.*—**habebat**: *agebat*, Burmann. — **operi**: dative instead of *ad* with the accusative.

3. **in fronte**: i.e. on the north. — **venturus**: for *irruptionem facturus;* cf. Verg. Aen. II. 47, *venturaque desuper urbi.*

4. **securam**: *securus* with the genitive is found in poetry and in post-Augustan prose. — **quippe**: emphasizes *cum.* — **eius**: i.e. Maroboduus. — **multo plus**: except in this instance Velleius uses *longe* with the comparative; Fritsch. See on *longe*, 45. 5.

5. **proximo anno**: 6 A.D. — **Cattos**: the *Catti*, more often written *Chatti*, were a German tribe occupying modern Hesse and a part of Thuringia. One of their towns, *castellum Chattorum*, is now Cassel. Cf. Tac. Germ. 30. — **continentibus . . . silvis**: i.e. parts of the Hercynian forest. — **Boiohaemum**: the modern Bohemia. The Boii, who came originally from Gaul, occupied this country for a time, but were finally driven out by the Marcomanni. The name Bohemia is explained by Taylor ("Words and Places," p. 48) as equivalent to *Boi-hem-ia*, or *Boi-heim*, *the home of the Boii.* He also holds that the Boii gave their name to *Baiern*, Bavaria. — **nomen est**: see Critical Appendix. — **Carnunto**: Carnuntum, or Carnutum, was a city in upper Pannonia, on the Danube. It was for a time the headquarters of Marcus Aurelius while he was directing the war against the German tribes. Its ruins can now be seen between Petronel and Altenburg.

110, 111. Rebellion in Pannonia and Dalmatia.

1. **interdum**: see Critical Appendix. — **Danuvium**: *Danuvium* and not *Danubium* is the correct spelling. The Danube is, next to the Volga, the largest river of Europe. It rises in the Black Forest, flows through Austria and Hungary, and, after a course of more than sixteen hundred miles, empties into the Black Sea. Cf. Tac. Germ. 1, *Danuvius . . . montis Abnobae iugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat.* — **aberat, legionesque quas**: see Critical Appendix.

2. **quas . . . placuerat**: *which he had ordered Saturninus to bring up.* — **praedicto loco**: cf. 109. 5. — **Pannonia . . . corri-

puit: cf. Suet. Tib. 16, 17, where this war is called *gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica.* — **insolens . . . viribus**: *made arrogant by the enjoyment of long peace, and fully developed in power.*

3. **Tum . . . praeposita**: Tiberius found it necessary to check the uprising in Pannonia and Dalmatia, instead of making war upon the Marcomanni as he had before planned. For this use of *gloriosis*, see on 75. 2. — **abdito . . . exercitu**: *withdrawing the army into the interior.* — **milibus**: ablative of comparison after *amplius*, which is here followed by the regular construction after comparatives. — **ducenta**: sc. *milia.* — **armis habilia**: *capable of bearing arms.*

4. **Nauporti**: a city in upper Pannonia; now Laybach. — **Tergestis**: Tergeste; now Trieste. — **praesidium**: the predicate nominative instead of the dative of purpose or end. — **Batoni ac Pinneti**: Bato and Pinnetes (also written Pinnes) were the leaders in the revolt. Cf. 114. 4.

5. **non . . . tantummodo, sed . . . quoque**: = *non . . . solum, sed . . . etiam.* Cf. Liv. 21. 32. 4, *non . . . tantummodo . . . sed etiam.*

6. **vexillariorum**: *of the veterans. vexillarius, standard-bearer,* was first used by Liv. 8. 8. 4. Tacitus (Ann. I. 38; H. II. 83; 100) used it in the sense of *veteran.* The *vexillarii* were a privileged body of veterans who had served through twenty campaigns, but who were still liable to be called upon to perform special duties. They were named *vexillarii* because they served under standards, *vexilla*, of their own and not under the eagles of the legions. — **ad . . . caesus**: i.e. put to the sword. — **stabilem**: an appropriate epithet for Augustus, especially when he is contrasted with the Roman leaders that had immediately preceded him. — **experientia**: Augustus had acquired his experience during a period of fifty years, from the death of Julius Caesar, 44 B.C., to the insurrection in Pannonia, 6 A.D.

111. 1. **et**: for *etiam.* — **viri . . . militem**: *men and women, in proportion to their income, were compelled to furnish freedmen to serve as soldiers.* Cf. Suet. Aug. 25, *Libertino milite . . . bis usus est: . . . neque aut commixtos cum ingenuis aut eodem modo armatos.* — **principis**: Augustus. See on *principatus*, 80. 6.

2. **nisi . . . fuisset**: i.e. success depended upon the leader; cf. Tac. A. 27, *adversa uni imputantur.* — **ut . . . ultimum**: *ultimum* is the reading of Lipsius; *militum* of AP. '*Praesidium ultimum*' *est summum, ultra quod nüllum aliud reperitur;* Ruhnken. Cf. Suet. Tib. 21, *unicum populi Romani praesidium.*

3. **mediocritas nostra**: "my modest self," "my humble talents." This has been compared with *mea parvitas*, Val. Max. I. Prol. Such expressions naturally came into use in the imperial age. — **ministerii**: see on 93. 2. — **Finita . . . militia**: the required term of service in the cavalry was ten years. — **necdum . . . senatoribus**: the meaning of this is obscure, and has been a matter of dispute. Sauppe, Mus. Helvet. 1837. I. 2. p. 139, holds that the other lieutenants were senators, and that some of them were also *designati tribuni*, and that Velleius' equality with the senators consisted in the fact that he had the same military rank and command. Kritz, to whom we are indebted for this statement of Sauppe's view, says in regard to it: *Veram loci rationem solus perspexit Sauppius.* — **etiam . . . tribunis**: in the last years of the Republic and in the time of the Empire, the tribunes were chosen from the senators. In order of office, the tribuneship generally came immediately after the quaestorship. — **plebei**: the genitive of *plebes*. See on 44. 4.

4. **In . . . sum**: Velleius returned to Rome to stand for the quaestorship. After his election, having given up his chance for one of the provinces which were assigned to the quaestors by lot, he was sent again to the frontier to serve as lieutenant under Tiberius. — **prudentia ducis**: *by the wisdom of our leader (Tiberius).* — **quanto . . . civilitatis**: *with what just display of kindness. civilitas* is post-Augustan and rare. — **inclusus**: sc. *hostis est.* — **intra se furens**: equivalent to *vertens furorem in se ipsum.*

112. Messalinus' bold deed in Illyricum. Tiberius reduces part of the barbarians by famine; the rest attack A. Caecina and Plautius Silvanus and are defeated. Death of M. Agrippa.

1. **Messalini**: M. Valerius Messalinus was the son of the eminent M. Messalla Corvinus, on whom see 71. 1. Messalinus was a noted orator and a patron of literature. He held the office of consul in the year 3 B.C. For his devotion to Augustus and Tiberius, see Tac. Ann. III. 18.

2. **animo . . . nobilior**: cf. Liv. 4. 28, *Nobilior vir factis, quam genere;* Ruhnken. — **Cottae**: Lucius Cotta, the younger brother of Messalinus. After the death of his father, he assumed the name of Cotta from his mother's family. — **semiplena legione**: at this time there were about five thousand men in the full legion, before the number had been diminished by service in the field. In the reign of Tiberius, the army on a peace footing contained, outside of Italy, twenty-five legions. Cf. Tac. Ann. IV. 5. For the names of the legions, their quarters, and the special actions in which they had been engaged, see Smith's Dict. Antiq., I., p. 788. — **fudit fugavitque**: see on 46. 4.

3. **Ita . . . reponerent**: the barbarians thought that they had made sufficient provision for the war, and had raised an army large enough to meet the enemy; but in the presence of Caesar, they lost confidence in themselves. Note the zeugma in the use of *placebat* with both *numerus* and *fiducia virium.* — **ipsi duci**: Tiberius. — **ad . . . nostram**: *at our will and to our advantage.* — **neque . . . congredi**: *neither daring to withstand us when we advanced upon them, nor to engage with us when we formed our line of battle and gave them an opportunity to fight.* — **instantes**: see Critical Appendix. — **monte Claudio**: a mountain range in Pannonia near the modern Warasdin on the river Drave.

4. **obviam exercitui**: *to meet the army.* — **A. Caecina**: A. Caecina Severus, governor of Moesia, 6 A.D. He served through forty campaigns. He is often mentioned by Tacitus. Cf. id. Ann. I. 31, 32, 60, 64, et passim. — **Silvanus Plautius**: consul with Augustus, 2 B.C. — **circumfusa . . . regio**: *surrounding five of our legions together with our allies and the royal army.* — **iunctus . . . Rhoemetalces**: king of Thrace. He was driven from his kingdom, 13 B.C., but was restored to it by Augustus a few years later. Cf. Tac. Ann. II. 64. 3. — **ducibus**: i.e. Caecina and Silvanus. — **adiutorium**: a rare word, for *auxilium.*

5. **fugata . . . alae**: *the cavalry of the king and the horsemen of the allies were put to flight.* — **imperatoris**: Tiberius.

6. **ipsae**: note its agreement with *legiones* instead of *semet.* See A. & G. 195, l.; G. 298; H. 452, 1. — **praefecto castrorum**: this officer is first mentioned in the time of Augustus. There was one for each legion. He attended to the making of the camp and

to its internal economy, and ranked between the tribunes and centurions; Class. Dict. — **primi ordines** : =*centuriones ordinis primi.* — **sustinuisse contenti**: see on 49. 4. — **ex insperato**: see on *ex . . . dissimulato*, 109. 2.

7. **Agrippa**: see on 104. 1. — **eodem die**: cf. *eadem die*, 104. 1, and see on 42. 2. — **adoptatus . . . erat**: the subject is *Agrippa*, and not *Tiberius.* — **naturali**: in distinction from adoptive. — **animi . . . ingenii**: *animus* is the rational soul in opposition to the physical life, *anima*, and in distinction from the body, *corpus. ingenium* is the inborn character, the talent. *mens* is the intellect, the reasoning faculty. — **alienavit sibi**: in Cicero, *alienare* is followed by *ab* and the ablative. See Lat. Lex. s.v. *alieno.* Cf. 47. 3, *a C. Caesare alienatus est.*

113, 114. Tiberius, a skillful commander, and kind to his troops. Peace secured in Pannonia.

1. **ducem . . . principem**: Tiberius. — **quique . . . quique**: =*et qui . . . et qui.* — **cohortibus**: allies, as in 112. 5, *conversae cohortes.* — **ad hoc**: for *praeterea;* used in this sense by the historians, especially from the time of Livy. See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. *ad* I. E. 2. — **quantus . . . civilia**: for the number that took part in the battle of Philippi, see on *Philippos*, 70. 1.

2. **utilia . . . praeferens**: cf. 110. 3, *necessaria gloriosis praeposita;* and 115. 5, *visum est . . . tutissimum;* also see on 75. 2. — **quae probanda . . . sequens**: *following the course which deserved to be approved, not always that which gained popular favor.* Gruter compared this with Ennius, as quoted by Cicero, Cat. M. 4. 10.

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.
Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.

— **paucis diebus**: for the case, see on *maiore parte*, 44. 5. — **refovendas**: not ante-Augustan; for *reficiendas.*

3. **quisque**: in partitive apposition with *universi.* — **Sisciam**: a city in Pannonia: now *Siszek.* — **partitis**: *partior* is generally used as a deponent by Cicero and Caesar, but the participle is used in the passive, as here.

114. 1. **belli . . . Pannonici**: for the number of *belli*, see on *legio . . . quarta*, 61. 2. — **nemo . . . animus**: cf. Germanicus' treatment of his soldiers, Tac. Ann. I. 71. 4, 5. — **praecedentibus**:

this verb is not found in Cicero, Sallust, or Tacitus, and but once in Caesar. See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. — **distractissimus**: *distractus* is here equivalent to *negotiis occupatus.*

2. **publicata**: *ready for the use of all.* — **iam**: for *modo;* anaphora. In this use it is rare, and in prose dates from the time of Livy. See Draeg. II. p. 94. — **in hoc solum**: the severe discipline of earlier times had excluded *instrumentum balinei* from the camp; hence Velleius says *in hoc solum,* referring to *succurrit valetudini.* — **domestici**: "domestics." — **illis**: sc. *domesticis.*

3. **solus . . . vectus est**: *Non vehiculo, aut lectica;* Ruhnken — **cenavit sedens**: the Romans usually reclined when taking food. Ammianus says of Julian, XXV. 4. 4, *per varios autem procinctus stans interdum more militiae cibum brevem vilemque sumere visebatur.* — **disciplinam**: i.e. Tiberius' strict mode of living. — **nocebatur**: impersonal passive. *Provided no harm was done by their example.* — **castigatio**: verbal reproof in distinction from corporal punishment, *vindicta. castigatio* was given in severer terms than *admonitio.*

4. **insequenti aestate**: 8 A.D. — **iuventutem**: the Pannonians. — **Bathinum**: this river has not been identified.

5. **M. Lepidus**: a kinsman of the triumvir; consul, 6 A.D. He is often confused with Manius Lepidus. See Smith's Dict. Biog.

115. Tiberius devotes himself to the war in Dalmatia.

1. **alteram . . . molem**: cf. *reliquiis belli in Delmatia,* 114. 4. — **Magio Celere Velleiano**: the brother of the historian was adopted into the Magian family, and assumed the name of Magius Celer Velleianus. — **patris**: Augustus. — **honorum**: limits *memoria.* — **quibus . . . donavit**: cf. 121. 3.

2. **immunesque . . . clade**: see on 46. 2. — **excisis agris**: equivalent to *vastatis agris.*

3. **si . . . auspiciis**: the auspices were taken by the commander-in-chief of the army, and the war was said to be carried on, *ductu et auspicio imperatoris.* Even if the *legatus* gained a victory in the absence of the *imperator,* the latter and not the *legatus* received the honor of a triumph; Class. Dict. — **ornamentis triumphalibus**: these included an ivory staff with the figure of an eagle, a curule chair, a golden crown, a mantle, and a statue crowned with laurel. — **principum,** *the princes.*

4. **Illa aestas**: 9 A.D. — **Perustae et Desidiates**: Dalmatian tribes. — **manibus**: *efforts.*

5. **quam . . . pensaret**: a result clause; *quam = ut eam.* — **semperque . . . tutissimum**: Kaiser compares Sall. Frag. Bk. I., *At ille eo processit, ut nihil gloriosum, nisi tutum . . . aestumet.* — **ducis . . . ducis**: chiasmus.

116. Deeds of Germanicus, Vibius Postumus, and Cossus.

1. **locos**: see on *locorumque,* 107. 3. — **Germanicus**: son of Drusus; nephew and adopted son of Tiberius. He was born, 19 B.C.; consul, 12 and 17 A.D.; died in the year 19. Augustus and the Roman people regarded him with much favor, because of his marked ability and upright character. For his death and the suspicion concerning it, see Tac. Ann. II. 69–72; for the feeling at Rome, see ib. 82–84.

2. **Vibius Postumus**: consul, 5 A.D. — **Passienus**: L. Passienus Rufus, consul, 4 B.C. — **Cossus**: consul, 1 B.C. — **quibusdam**: see Critical Appendix. — **Sed . . . contulit**: cf. Flor. IV. 12. 40, *Musulamos atque Gaetulos, accolas Syrtium, Cosso duce compescuit; unde illi Gaetulici nomen latius quam ipsa victoria.*

3. **L. Apronius**: consul, 8 A.D. Cf. Tac. Ann. I. 29. 2; III. 21; IV. 73. 1. — **excellenti**: the participle, when used as such, regularly has *e* in the ablative; as an adjective, *i.* — **Aelius Lamia**: see Critical Appendix. Consul, 3 A.D. Cf. Tac. Ann. IV. 13. 5; VI. 27. 2; Hor. Od. I. 26. 8; III. 17.

4. **A. Licinius . . . filius**: see on 83. 3. — **abunde**: see on 103. 4. — **ne . . . praeferens**: see Critical Appendix. The following may be taken as the probable sense of the passage: "A. Licinius Nerva Silianus, son of P. Silius, not sufficiently admired even by those who knew him, a most excellent citizen and skillful leader, lost by reason of his early death the advantage he might have gained from the emperor's friendship, and was unable to reach the lofty height to which his father had attained, and which he had purposed in his own mind to reach."

117, 118. Pannonian and Dalmatian war followed by the defeat of Varus. Character of the latter. Plots of Arminius.

1. **Tantum quod**. equivalent to *vix.* See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. *tantus* II. B. 2. b. — **bello**: note the singular. — **nuntium attulere**: so placed by Halm; by others after *cohortium.* — **indul**

gente: see on *excellenti*, 116. 3. — **ne . . . sed**: see Critical Appendix.

2. **Varus**: P. Quintilius Varus was the colleague of Tiberius in the consulship, 13 B.C., and was afterwards proconsul of Syria. His defeat by the Germans under Arminius, 9 A.D., was the severest blow that the Romans had received from a foreign foe since the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians. Cf. 119; also Tac. Germ. 37; id. Ann. I. 3. 6; I. 55. 3, 4. — **inlustri . . . familia**: *of an honorable rather than famous family.* — **ortus**: sc. *est.* — **ingenio mitis**: see on *forma*, 41. 1. — **immobilior**: the comparative has the force of *somewhat.* — **pecuniae . . . contemptor**: *how far he was from despising money.* — **pauper . . . pauperem**: note the order.

3. **poterant**: the indicative in *oratio obliqua* to emphasize the fact. See A. & G. 336, d; H. 524, 2, 2.

4. **mediam . . . Germaniam**: in the territory of the Cherusci, in the vicinity of the modern Paderborn. — **agendoque . . . tribunali**: cf. Plin. Ep. I. 10. 9, *Sedeo pro tribunali, subnoto libellos;* also Suet. Vitell. 9, *pro tribunali iura reddenti.* The expression *agere pro tribunali* is equivalent to *ius dicere.* — **ordine**: for *ex ordine, in order, regularly.* *sordide* has been proposed.

118. 1. **nunc . . . mitesceret**: *now giving thanks because Roman justice settled these disputes, and because their own wild nature became more refined under the influence of this new and hitherto untried system.* — **ut se . . . crederet**: Vossius compared this with Flor. IV. 12. 31, *Ausus ille (Varus) agere conventum, et incautius edixerat, quasi violentiam barbarorum lictoris virgis et praeconis voce posset inhibere.*

2. **Arminius**: *Hermann, leader*, was the son of Sigimer (which signifies *famous conqueror*), and was born, 18 B.C. He was educated at Rome, and served for a time in the army of Augustus; Smith's Dict. Biog. His defeat of Varus is reckoned by Creasy as one of the fifteen decisive battles in the world's history, because, "That victory secured at once and forever the independence of the Teutonic race." It compelled the Romans to make the Rhine and not the Elbe the boundary of the empire. For his death and fame, see Tac. Ann. II. 88. — **gentis eius**: the Cherusci. — **iure**: Ruhnken thinks that the preposition *cum* has fallen out before *iure*, because of the preceding *comes.* — **neminem . . . opprimi**: cf. Liv. 37. 4,

Et tunc eo ipso, quod nihil tale timerent, opprimi incautos posse.

3. **recepit . . . dicit**: note the change in tense.

4. **Segesten**: Segestes was an opponent of Arminius, and a friend of the Romans. Cf. Tac. Ann. I. 58, 59. — **Obstabant . . . praestrinxerant**: an imitation of Verg. Aen. IV. 440, *Fata obstant, placidasque viri deus obstruit auris.* — **ut . . . corrumpat**: cf. 57. 3. — **speciemque . . . profitetur**: *spemque* is the reading of AP. Burmann proposed *speciemque*, which Halm adopted. The latter says of this clause: *Est formula gratias agentis, qua quis se benevolam indicis voluntatem agnoscere fatetur.*

119. Slaughter of the Romans under Varus, and death of the latter.

1. **Crassi . . . damnum**: the memorable defeat of Crassus occurred, 53 B.C. See on 46. 4. — **nunc . . . est**: cf. 67. 1. Tacitus (Ann. I. 58. 5) uses a similar expression in regard to the defeat of Varus, *Quae secuta sunt, defleri magis quam defendi possunt.*

2. **marcore**: for *ignavia.* — **aut egrediendi**: see Critical Appendix. — **inclusus silvis**: cf. Tac. Ann. I. 60. 5, *haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiae Vari legionumque insepultae dicebantur.* The Teutoburg Forest was probably the modern forest of Havixbrock, east of Beckum and northeast of Hamm; Allen. — **quem . . . temperaret**: the Romans had formerly defeated and slaughtered the Germans at will.

3. **paterni . . . exempli**: for the death of Varus' father, see on 71. 3. Concerning the death of the grandfather, Lipsius says: "The facts are not so clear, yet I find that Sex. Quintilius Varus, quaestor of L. Domitius, was at Corfinium, so that it is probable that he took his own life at Pharsalus or in Africa." — **exempli successor**: *following the example.* — **se ipse transfixit**: Tacitus (Ann. I. 61. 6) agrees with this.

4. **Vala**: otherwise unknown. — **cetera**: see on 46. 2. — **cum alis**: *with the cavalry of the allies.*

5. **gentilicii . . . est**: *was honored with burial in the family tomb.*

120. Tiberius is sent to Germany. Valor of L. Asprenas and L. Caedicius. Tragic death of Caelius Caldus.

1. **ad patrem**: for the effect of this defeat upon Augustus, cf.

Suet. Aug. 23, *Vovit et magnos ludos Iovi Optimo Maximo, si res publica in meliorem statum vertisset. Adeo denique consternatum ferunt ut per continuos menses barba capilloque summisso caput interdum foribus inlideret, vociferans: 'Quintili Vare, legiones redde!' diemque cladis quot annis maestum habuerit ac lugubrem.* — **ad Germaniam**: *into Germany.* — **Cimbricam . . . militiam**: the Teutones were defeated by Marius, 102 B.C.; the Cimbri, 101. Velleius mentions these battles in 12. 4. — **ultro**: found in Velleius but once; Georges.

2. **Arma . . . erant**: *he made war upon the enemy when his father and fatherland would have been satisfied if he had held them in check.*

3. **L. Asprenati**: probably L. Nonius Asprenas, consul, 6 A.D., and proconsul of Africa, 14 A.D. — **vacillantium**: agrees with *gentium* instead of *animos*; see on 83. 2. — **sitarum**: rarely used in reference to persons.

4. **Alisone**: Aliso was a fortress at the junction of the river Aliso with the Lippe. It was built by Drusus, 11 B.C. Cf. Tac. Ann. II. 7. 5.

5. **imperatoris . . . militum**: chiastic arrangement.

6. **ita . . . expiraret**: cf. 7. 2 for a similar instance.

121. Tiberius' success in Gaul. He returns to Rome and celebrates his long-delayed triumph.

1. **subsequenti . . . initio**: Tiberius first crossed the Rhine, 8 B.C. After his return from Rhodes he again invaded Germany, 4 A.D., and was engaged in military operations there and in the neighboring provinces until he returned to Rome, in the year 12, to celebrate his long-delayed triumph. — **Qui**: the subject of *egit.* — **classicis**: *classicus*, as in 85. 2, where Cicero would have used *navalis.* — **Viennensium**: the inhabitants of Vienna, a city in Gaul, on the Rhone; now *Vienne.* — **ut . . . esset**: cf. Suet. Tib. 21, *lege per consules lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret.* — **quam**: see on *dissimilis*, 55. 2. *aequum* is here equivalent to *nec dissimile.*

2. **ad . . . parem**: an unusual construction; found also in Liv. 1. 5. 7, *nec enim erat ad vim apertam par.* — **egit triumphum**: 12 A.D. Cf. Suet. Tib. 20.

3. **hostium duces**: the reference is probably to Bato and Pin-



notes. — **quem . . . contigit**: cf. Suet. Tib. 20, *prosequentibus etiam legatis, quibus triumphalia ornamenta impetrarat.*

122. Tiberius' modesty in receiving honors.

1. **tribus**: see on 97. 4. — **rege . . . ei**: see on *Artavasdi*, 94. 4. — **curru . . . ingredi**: *i.e. triumphare.*

2. **temperavit**: sc. *modum;* he observed moderation in honors.

123. Germanicus is sent to Germany to complete the war. Death of Augustus at Nola.

1. **Germanicum**: see on 116. 1. — **patraturum . . . interfuturus**: future participles expressing purpose. *interfuturus, to be present at.* — **athletarum**: wrestlers, runners, boxers, leapers, and disc-hurlers are called *athletae,* from ἀθλέω, *to contend.* — **Beneventi**: Beneventum was a city in Samnium, now *Benevento.* It was on the Appian Way, and therefore on the road to Brundusium, the port from which Tiberius would sail to Illyricum. — **Nolam**: a very old city of Campania. — **volenti**: sc. *sibi.* The participle has the force of a conditional clause, *if he wished.* — **post se**: for *se mortuo.* — **expectato . . . maturius**: *more quickly than he was expected.*

2. **amplexibus**: mostly poetic and post-Augustan. — **ipsius**: sc. *Tiberii.* — **fine**: for *fine vitae;* in this sense post-Augustan. Cf. Val. Max. III. 3. 4. *finire* in the sense of *mori* is found in Cic. Tusc. 1. 48. — **subrefectus**: ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; equivalent to *aliquanto refecto.* — **spiritus**: cf. Eng. "a dear soul," and see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. II. B. b. — **in sua . . . reddidit**: This expression was borrowed from the followers of Pythagoras and Plato, who believed that the soul of man, released from the body at death, returned to the world-soul from which it came. Velleius uses a variety of expressions in place of *mori, to die:* e.g. *ad deos excedere,* I. 2. 1; *de vita migrare,* I. 11. 7; *vitam finire,* II. 3. 2; *spiritum reddere,* 14. 2; *morte fungi,* 48. 6; *perire,* 64. 2: *expirare,* 70. 5; *obire,* 87. 3; *exitus fuit,* 87. 3; *decedere,* 87. 3; *occidere,* 91. 4; *proteri,* 91. 4; *fungi statione mortali,* 131. 2. — **Pompeio . . . consulibus**: 14 A.D. Augustus died on the 19th of August of this year, having been sole ruler of Rome for forty-four years. For an account of his death, see Suet. Aug. 98, 99; Tac. Ann. I. 5. 5, 6. Merivale regards the insinuation that Augustus was poisoned by Livia as without proof, and thinks that there could be no adequate motive for such an act on her part. See id. IV. p. 287.

124. Consternation at Rome. Tiberius at first refuses imperial power. He begins his reign.

1. **in . . . confinio**: *in how narrow a strait between safety and destruction we were.* — **vacat**: the impersonal use of *vacat* is confined to poetry and post-Augustan prose. — **bonis**: Halm suggests *votis* after *bonis*, as possibly the correct reading. *consilio* has also been proposed.

2. **Tandem . . . victus est**: cf. Tac. Ann. I. 11, 12; Suet. Tib. 24, 25. Both Tacitus and Suetonius accuse Tiberius of insincerity in his reluctance to enter upon the imperial office.

3. **Post . . . patrem**: cf. Suet. Aug. 100, *Nec defuit vir praetorius, qui se effigiem cremati euntem in caelum vidisse iuraret.* According to Dion Cassius the man was bribed by Livia. — **corpus . . . honoribus**: cf. Suet. Aug. 100, *Reliquias legerunt primores equestris ordinis, tunicati et discincti pedibusque nudis, ac Mausoleo condiderunt. Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis sexto suo consulatu extruxerat circumiectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi iam tum publicarat.* Remains of his tomb can now be seen on the *Via de' Pontefici.* — **numen . . . honoratum**: cf. Tac. Ann. I. 10. 8, *Ceterum sepultura more perfecta templum et caelestes religiones decernuntur.* Cf. Suet. Aug. 97, *divinitasque post mortem evidentissimis ostentis praecognita est.* — **ordinatio comitiorum**: cf. Tac. Ann. I. 15. 1, *e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt.* "From henceforth, however, we are to consider not only that every consular appointment is made by the mere voice of the emperor, but that every other magistrate is chosen by the senate, partly on the imperial nomination, partly with a show of free selection, and finally, that to these at least the popular sanction is also ostensibly given." Merivale, V. p. 101. See also Leighton's Rome, p. 441.

4. **candidatis Caesaris**: Augustus nominated part of the magistrates and allowed the people to nominate the rest, claiming only the right of veto in the case of unworthy nominations. He attended the elections and solicited votes for his own candidates; Merivale, V. p. 98. Cf. Suet. Aug. 56, *Quotiens magistratuum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circuibat supplicabatque more sollemni. Ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribu, ut unus e populo.*

125. Mutiny of the troops in Germany and Illyricum, suppressed by the wisdom of Tiberius and the valor of Drusus.

1. **Quippe . . . erant**: Tacitus gives an account of the mutiny of the legions in Pannonia, in Ann I. 16–30, and of the revolt in Germany, in ib. 31–49. Of the former he says: *cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello spem praemiorum ostendebat;* concerning the outbreak in Germany: *Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legiones turbatae.* The army in Illyricum consisted of three legions. The soldiers demanded shorter service, sixteen campaigns instead of twenty, and more pay. Their complaints were laid before the emperor, who sent his son, Claudius Drusus, to pacify the troops. The superstitious soldiers were greatly terrified by an eclipse of the moon which occurred at that time, and having received from Drusus assurances of certain reforms, they returned to their allegiance. The leaders of the insurrection were put to death.

The army in Germany consisted of eight legions. Germanicus, the commander, was absent in Gaul when the mutiny began. Some of the soldiers wished to make him emperor, but he refused to be a party to such treason. By a strong appeal to the affection of the soldiers for himself, his wife, and his infant son, Gaius (afterwards the emperor Caligula), and by his wise management, Germanicus succeeded in restoring order and discipline.

4. **ignovit**: see Critical Appendix. — **ita . . . perniciosa**: *so Drusus, who had also been sent by his father to extinguish the flames of another revolt kindled by the soldiers and blazing forth with the utmost fury, enforced the severe discipline of former times and preferred a course which exposed himself to danger to one which might prove ruinous in the end.* — **igne**: cf. this form with *igni*, 74. 4. — **et . . . coercuit**: when the soldiers had been pacified, they aided the commander in punishing the ring-leaders.

5. **Iunio Blaeso**: Q. Junius Blaesus was governor of Africa, 21 A.D., and consul, 28. He was the uncle of Sejanus and was involved in the downfall of the latter. — **in iis . . . cuius**: supplied by Madvig. On M. Lepidus, see 114. 5. — **cum ei . . . superesset**: *since he had sufficient loyalty to plan the best things and authority to carry out what he planned.* — **Dolabella**: proconsul

in Africa, 24 A.D. He brought the war with Tacfarinas to a successful conclusion. Cf. Tac. Ann. IV. 23. 2.

126. Wise and peaceful rule of Tiberius.

1. **Horum . . . annorum**: the first sixteen years of the reign of Tiberius. — **partibus**: about equal to *particulatim*. *Who can give all of the details?*

2. **fides**: a commercial term, *credit*. — **summota . . . seditio**: Krause cited Suet. Aug. 34, for an example of *seditio* under Augustus. — **campo**: the Campus Martius, in which the people had formerly met for the election of magistrates, — under Tiberius, for the ratification of their election by the senate. — **sepultaeque . . . redditae**: chiasmus. — **iudiciis gravitas**: under Tiberius the senate became the chief criminal court of the empire, and the emperor, as the head of the senate, was the final court of appeal. — **compressa . . . seditio**: cf. Suet. Tib. 37; also Tac. Ann. I. 77.

3. **suspicit**: literally, *looks up to*, i.e. *esteems*. — **potentem humilis**: the use of the masc. sing. adjective as a substantive is rare. — **Diffusa . . . immunes**: Merivale commends Tiberius' method of governing the provinces, because he avoided frequent changes among the officials and did not regard the provincials as "prostrate enemies, but as the children of the state." Of his treatment of foreign foes, Suetonius (Tib. 37) says: *Reges infestos suspectosque comminationibus magis et querelis, quam vi, repressit.* — **meridiano**: very rare as a substantive.

4. **Restitutae . . . Asiae**: twelve (according to one inscription fourteen) cities of the province of Asia were overthrown by an earthquake, 17 A.D. Tiberius aided these cities by gifts of money and by remitting taxes. Cf. Tac. Ann. II. 47. — **vindicatae . . . provinciae**: cf. Suet. Tib. 32, *Praesidibus, onerandas tributo provincias suadentibus, rescripsit: 'Boni pastoris esse, tondere pecus, non deglubere.'* "A good shepherd ought to shear his sheep and not flay them." — **sera . . . aliqua**: "slow but sure."

5. **nam . . . docet**: cf. Cic. Off. I. 18, *sic officii conservandi praecepta traduntur illa quidem, ut facimus ipsi;* and Iuv. Sat. 14. 31–33.

127. Sejanus becomes the favorite of Tiberius.

1. **ut . . . Laeliis**: C. Laelius was the friend and companion of the elder Africanus in his campaigns in Spain and Africa in the

second Punic war. C. Laelius Sapiens, the son of the preceding, was the most intimate associate of the younger Africanus; cf. Cic. de Am. — **et proxime ab eo**: *and after him.* — **Statilio Tauro**: consul, 37 and 26 B.C. He was prefect of the city under Augustus. Cf. also 85. 2.

2. **neque . . . defecit**: the reading of AP, but regarded as doubtful by many editors. The following may be taken as the sense of the passage: "In small affairs, as in great ones, there is need of proper assistance."

3. **Seianum Aelium**: L. Aelius Sejanus was the son of Seius Strabo, a Roman knight. His mother belonged to the Junian family. He became a member of the Aelian *gens* by adoption. For eight years he was the favorite, and prime minister of Tiberius. He persuaded the latter to retire to Capreae while he remained in Rome at the head of the government. He was consul, 31 A.D., during which year he was detected in a plot to kill Tiberius. In accordance with the emperor's command, he was condemned by the senate and immediately put to death. See on *ut iuvenes . . . filios*, 130. 3. For his character, cf. Tac. Ann. IV. 1; for an account of his death, Iuv. Sat. 10. 56–113. — **consobrinos**: *consobrinus* became *cosinus* in Low Latin; whence O. Fr. *cosin*, Eng. *cousin.* — **laboris . . . capacissimum**: Tacitus says (Ann. IV. 1.), *corpus illi laborum tolerans.* On other points, Tacitus and Velleius do not agree. Tacitus paints Sejanus in very much darker colors, and probably gives us a more accurate picture of him.

4. **actu . . . simillimum**: observe the oxymoron.

128. Excursus on eminent Romans of humble origin.

1. **In huius . . . certant**: *the state has long vied with the emperor in entertaining a favorable opinion of his virtues.* — **putandi**: gerund. — **bellum Punicum**: the first Punic War, 264–241 B.C. — **annos trecentos**: round numbers. — **Ti. Coruncanium**: consul, 280 B.C.; pontifex maximus, 252. He was the first plebeian to hold the latter office. Cicero refers to him in Cato Maior, as a true Roman of the old type. — **hominem novum**: a *novus homo* was the first of his family to hold a curule office (i.e. the office of aedile, praetor, or consul).

2. **Sp. Carvilium**: consul, 293 B.C. — **M. Catonem**: Cato, the

censor; b. 234, d. 149 B.C.; consul, 195; censor, 184. — **Tusculo**: about thirteen miles southeast of Rome, near the modern *Frascati*. Cicero had a villa there. — **novum . . . inquilinum**: *a new man also, not a native of the city, but born at Tusculum.* Cf. Sall. Cat. 31. 7, *M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae.* — **Mummium**: L. Mummius was consul 146 B.C., in which year he took Corinth and gained his surname, *Achaicus*. See on *Corinthus*, 84. 2.

3. **ignotae**: *obscure, humble.* — **ad . . . consulatum**: in his fifth consulship, 101 B.C., Marius gained his famous victory over the Cimbri at Vercellae. In his sixth, while attempting constitutional reforms, he displayed such an utter lack of statesmanship, that his consulship was a practical failure, and he lost the favor of both senate and people. — **adsentatione**: generally in the sense of *flattery*, rarely, as here, *approbation*. We would expect *adsensione*. Cf. *adsentabatur*, 48. 1, and see note. — **in . . . tribuendum**: cf. the speech of Canuleius, Liv. 4. 3, in favor of the election of plebeians to the consulship.

4. **naturalis**: agrees with *imitatio*.

129. Rhascupolis called to Rome. Triumph of Germanicus. Maroboduus allured to Rome. Mutiny in Gaul suppressed. Close of the African war.

1. **proposita . . . forma**: ablative absolute. — **Rhascupolim**: so in Suet. Tib. 37; in Tac. Ann. II. 64–67, Rhescuporis. Augustus divided Thrace between Rhascupolis and Cotys, the nephew of Rhascupolis. After the accession of Tiberius to the throne, Cotys was put to death by his uncle. Rhascupolis was finally banished to Alexandria, where he was put to death, 19 A.D. — **Flacci Pomponii**: Pomponius Flaccus was consul, 17 A.D., and governor of Moesia in the year 19. He induced Rhascupolis to enter his camp and then seized him and sent him to Rome. — **nati . . . gloriam**: Suetonius (Tib. 42) and Tacitus (Ann. II. 66) speak disparagingly of Flaccus.

2. **Drusi Libonis**: Drusus Libo, consul 16 A.D., was a member of the noble Scribonian *gens*. He was influenced by soothsayers to aspire to the throne. After conclusive proof of his designs, Tiberius summoned him before the senate. Drusus, finding himself abandoned by his friends, took his own life. Cf. Suet. Tib. 25; Tac. Ann. II. 27–32. — **ingratum**: he was made praetor and

consul by Tiberius, and was treated with an outward show of kindness even after his treasonable designs had been suspected. — **triumphi**: Germanicus received the honor of a triumph, 17 A.D. He had recovered the eagles of Varus. The medals commemorating the triumph bore the inscription: *Signis receptis devictis Germanis.*

3. **congiariis**: the *congiarium* was originally a gift of a *congius* (about six pints) of oil, wine, or food. Later the term signified a gift of money. When given to the soldiers it was called *donativum.* — **senatorumque . . . explevit**: cf. Tac. Ann. II. 37, *Censusque quorundam senatorum iuvit.* He aided senators in acquiring sufficient property to maintain their senatorial dignity. The *census senatorum* is put by some authorities at 800,000 sesterces, by others at 1,000,000, i.e. $40,000 or $50,000. — **invitaret**: *encouraged.* — **Quanto . . . provincias**: Germanicus was sent, 17 A.D., to the East to look after Roman interests in Cappadocia and Cilicia, to correct abuses in Judaea and Syria, and to overawe the Parthians on the frontier. He was given extraordinary powers to enable him to accomplish the objects of his mission. Cf. Tac. Ann. II. 43. — **Druso**: Drusus was sent at the same time to Illyricum and the Danubian frontier. — **Maroboduum**: see on 108. 1. — **terrae**: locative. See H. p. 229, foot-note 1; Roby, II. 1168. — **medicamentis**: *charms.* — **illum**: Maroboduus. — **Sacroviro . . . Iulio**: Sacrovir, an Aeduan, Julius Florus, a Treviran, Roman citizens by adoption, excited the Gauls to rebellion, 21 A.D. Failing in their plans, the leaders took their own lives. For an account of this insurrection, cf. Tac. Ann. III. 40–46.

4. **bellum Africum**: 17 A.D., the Romans under Furius Camillus defeated Tacfarinas who had excited a rebellion in Africa. Three years later the war was renewed, but the Romans prevailed, and Blaesus, the governor of Africa, 21 A.D., won the honor of a triumph. Cf. 125. 5.

130. Munificence of Tiberius. Crimes of Drusus Libo. Death of the sons, grandson, and mother of Tiberius.

1. **Quanta . . . opera**: Tacitus (Ann. VI. 45. 2) and Suetonius (Tib. 47) say that Tiberius undertook only the building of the temple of Augustus and the restoration of the theatre of Pompey. But Suetonius also says (Tib. 20) that he dedicated the temples of Concord, and Castor and Pollux. It is probable that

the restoration of temples, undertaken by Augustus and left unfinished at his death, was completed by Tiberius. He also built a triumphal arch in honor of the recovery of the standards of Varus, and enlarged the imperial palace. — **Pompei munera**: Pompey's theatre.

2. **incenso . . . Caelio**: this fire occurred, 27 A.D. For an account of Tiberius' generosity and the attempt to change the name of the hill and call it in honor of Augustus, see Tac. Ann. IV. 64. — **rem**: see on 69. 6.

3. **mediocritas**: see on 111. 3. — **Silium**: C. Silius commanded the Romans against Sacrovir in the Gallic insurrection, 21 A.D. He was charged with negligence in not preventing the outbreak in Gaul, and was also accused of dishonesty and extortion. To avoid conviction he committed suicide, 24 A.D. — **Pisonem**: Cn. Calpurnius Piso was consul with Tiberius, 7 B.C. He was governor of Syria, 18 A.D. Accused of poisoning Germanicus, he was compelled to return to Rome to defend himself, but despairing of acquittal, took his own life. See Tac. Ann. III. 15, 16. — **infestos . . . quorum**: supplied by Burmann. — **ut . . . filios**: Germanicus and Drusus. See on Germanicus, 116. 1. For the death of Drusus, 23 A.D., cf. Tac. Ann. IV. 8. 1. After the downfall of Sejanus, 31 A.D., his complicity in the poisoning of Drusus was made public by Apicata, the divorced wife of Sejanus. — **nepotem . . . Druso**: the young son of Drusus died in the same year as his father, — not without the suspicion of poison.

4. **Dolenda . . . erubescenda**: gerundives used substantively. Cf. *audendis*, 56. 4. — **nuru**: Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was banished to Pandataria, 30 A.D., where she died, three years later, of voluntary starvation. — **nepote**: Nero, the son of Germanicus and Agrippina, was banished to the island of Pontia.

5. **amissa mater**: Livia, the widow of Augustus and mother of Tiberius, died 29 A.D., at the age of 86. Cf. Tac. Ann. V. 1. 6, *Laudata est pro rostris a Gaio Caesare pronepote, qui mox rerum potitus est.*

131. Conclusion. Prayer for the safety and prosperity of the Emperor and Empire.

1. **Iuppiter Capitoline**: Jupiter was so called from the Capitoline hill on which his temple stood. Among the other epithets

applied to him are: *Feretrius*, *Elicius*, *Stator*, *Tonans*, *Tarpeius*, *Latialis*. — **Gradive Mars**: *Gradivus* is from *gradior* and belongs to Mars as the God of war, the *marcher;* or from √**gra** (cf. *gramen*) *to grow* and applied to Mars as the god of growth and of the spring; see Moritz Müller on Liv. 1. 20. — **Vesta**: the daughter of Saturn, and goddess of the hearth. The sacred fire was kept burning in her temple by the Vestal Virgins. Cf. Cic. N. D. II. 27, *ea est enim, quae ab illis* Ἑστία *dicitur. Vis autem eius ad aras et focos pertinet.* — **publica**: on behalf of the state. — **pacem**: *pax* here signifies *dominion, empire.* See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. I. B. 3. It is used in this sense by Tacitus, Ann. XII. 33, *qui pacem nostram metuebant.* — **hunc principem**: added by Lipsius.

2. **destinate . . . serissimos**: *ordain successors to Tiberius upon the imperial throne until the latest time.* — **iuvate . . . confringite**: the MS. was mutilated at the end. Halm completed it in this way. Vossius proposed, *fovete aut impia opprimite.* Rhenanus suggested, *aut salutaria in felicem exitum provehite.*

Tiberius died on the 16th of March, 37 A.D. Whether he died a natural death or was, at the last, hurried out of the world by the aid of his attendants, cannot now be determined. For the various accounts of his death and the authorities, see Merivale, V. pp. 255–258. Tiberius was succeeded by the son of Germanicus and Agrippina, Gaius Caesar, commonly known as Caligula, who reigned from 37 to 41 A.D.

VARIATIONS FROM THE TEXT OF HALM.

41, 1 peritos,	HALM, studiosos.
42, 3 Iunium,	" Iuncum.
45, 1 interemisset, ut ei,	" interemisset, ei.
46, 1 ageret,	" gereret.
55, 4 et certatum a,	" et a.
65, 2 conditam annis,	" conditam [abhinc] annis.
65, 3 praetoriae,	" praetoria.
68, 1 ne immodica,	" ne modica.
80, 2 interpretaretur auderetque,	" interpretabatur audebatque.
89, 4 publicae,	" publica.
90, 1 etiam coaluere,	" et coaluere.
92, 2 [sua],	" sua.
92, 2 [vetere . . . severitate],	" vetere . . . severitate.
105, 2 ac,	" aut.
112, 3 instantes,	" instantem.
116, 2 [quibusdam],	" quamquam.
119, 2 aut egrediendi,	" egrediendive.
123, 2 septuagesimo sexto,	" septuagesimo et sexto.

CRITICAL APPENDIX.

41, 1 *antiquitatis peritos*] Orelli; *antiquissimos*, AP. Halm proposes *antiquitatis studiosos*, or *curiosos*. Haase adopts the reading of Bernays, *monumentis antiquissimis;* Kritz, that of Acidalius, *omnis constat, antiquissima*. Scriner (Inaug. Diss. Utrecht, 1879) proposes *antiquitatis peritissimos*, citing Cic. Brut. 56, *antiquitatis . . . peritus*.

42, 2 *privatus*] AP; *privata*, Kritz; *privatim*, Orelli.

42, 3 *Iunium*] AP; retained by Kritz. Plutarch (Life of Caes.) has the same. Halm and Haase, following Nipperdey, read *Iuncum*.

44, 3 *Iuliam*] inserted by Orelli, whom Halm follows. Orelli thinks it was lost through the influence of the following *filiam*. Kritz considers this possible, but omits it as unnecessary.

45, 1 *ut ei*] *et* is the reading of AP. In the ed. Basil., 1546, it is *ei*, a reading generally followed since that time. Scriner (Inaug. Diss., Utrecht, 1879) inserts *ut*, which he thinks was lost between *-set* and *ei*. He cites *tulit, ut* 44. 4 and 45. 4.

46, 1 *ageret*] so Kritz and Haase after AP. Halm reads *gereret*, proposed by Stanger.

48, 4 [*voluptatibus vel libidinibus*]] so Halm and Haase. Regarded as a gloss by Gruter; genuine by Kritz and Orelli.

48, 6 *quieta aut certe non praecipitata*] after *quieta*, Lipsius inserted *ea*, referring to *re publica;* Madvig, following Ruhnken, *civitate* after *praecipitata*. Either of the proposed readings seems reasonable, and suggests the proper interpretation of the passage. Kritz punctuates *sine periculo quieta, aut certe non praecipitata*.

49, 2 *nomine*] Halm follows Gronovius in adopting *nomine* in place of *non*, the reading of AP. Kritz and Haase retain *non*, punctuating *causae, non Pompeio*. Scriner proposes *consensu uno* for *causae nomine*.

51, 3 *in Hispania ex cive*] Halm and Kritz after Morgenstern; *Hispaniae Asíae*, AP; *Hispaniensis*, Lipsius; *Hispaniensi cive*, Burmann.

52, 4 *dimitteret* * * *] Halm and Kritz. Ruhnken inserts *praecones clamantes parce civibus* after *omnes partes*. Halm suggests as a possible improvement on this emendation *signum*, or *tesseram*, between *clamantes* and *parce*, citing Suet. Caes. 75, *Acie Pharsalica proclamavit ut civibus parceretur*. Kritz thinks a line has fallen out after *dimitteret*, indicating what men were sent and for what purpose. Orelli holds that the lost words refer to Brutus. Scriner proposes *dimittere Martem iuberet*.

52, 6 *in illa . . . quam quod*] Halm after Haase; *illa . . . quando*, AP, which Kritz follows.

54, 1 *summorum imperatorum, alteri mortuo*] Halm; *summo imperatorum*, AP. *summorum* Halm after Mommsen and *alteri mortuo* after Lipsius; Haase [*mortuo, alteri*]; Kritz follows AP and takes *utrique* as nom. plu., referring *summo . . . superstiti* to Caesar.

54, 2 *vivebat*] Kritz, Haase, and Halm after Heinsius; *Iubae*, AP.

55, 4 *restituta, et certatum a*] proposed by Scriner, who rightfully holds that *restituta fortius* would be meaningless. He was led to this emendation by the suggestion of Kritz that *acies restituta* implied *pugnatum est*. *restitutae sunt a*, AP; *restĩtutae C. A.* is the reading of M, from which Orelli conjectured *restituta, et a*, and Halm, Haase, and Kritz adopted his reading.

58, 2 *Tum*] *cum*, AP and Kritz; *Tum*, Halm after Haase.

59, 1 *per se nitet*] Halm, following Burmann, for *praevenit et*, AP; *praenitet*, Kritz after Heinsius. Haase proposes *sic praecipiti*, citing *in hac tam praecipiti festinatione*, I. 16. 1.

59, 5 *ordinem ac rationem*] Halm and Haase after Muncker. *ordinationem*, AP. Kritz follows ed. Basil., 1546, and reads *ordinem*, citing 119. 1 and Tac. Ann. IV. 69. 5. He thinks *ordinationem* in AP due to the mistake of a copyist in regarding *ordinem* as an abbreviation instead of a complete word.

60, 4 *vitiatisque corrupti commentarii*] Halm, Kritz, and Orelli after Cludius. *civitatibusque corruptis commentariis*, AP. Ruhnken called this, "locus prope desperatus," and proposed *vitiatique et corrupti commentarii*.

62, 3 *pari*] Burmann reads *parato*. *intentus* and *paratus* are often joined.

63, 1 *a*] added by Heinsius.

64, 2 *primus*] Halm, Kritz, and A; *primis*, P; *in primis*, Haase. Heinsius proposed *cui cum in primis*.

64, 4 *ut satiato*] *ut* proposed by Halm; *vel*, AP; *velut*, Kritz and Haase, following Puteanus.

65, 2 *Tum igitur*] Halm; *tur*, AP; * * *igitur*, Haase; *Igitur*, Kritz.

65, 2 *conditam annis*] so Gelenius; *conditam* [*abhinc*] *annis*, Halm; *abhinc*, AP, but omitted in ed. Basil., 1546, which Kritz follows.

65, 3 *praetoriae*] ed. Basil., 1546, and adopted by Gelenius because of *praeturae* 92. 4; *praetoria* Halm, Haase, and Kritz.

68, 1 *ne immodica quidem re*] *immodica* (*in modica*, P) *quidem*, AP. Aldus proposed *ne modica quidem re*, which Halm adopts in his text, but suggests, in a note, *ne immodica quidem re* (or *fide*). Orelli reads *cum ne in otio quidem servari*; Haase, *cum in modica quidem* * * *.

74, 2 *iussa*] Halm, following Heinsius; *iuste*, AP. Kritz, after Ruhnken, reads *instituta*. Sauppe proposes *in ista*. Heinsius' reading is the best, as it deviates very little from the MS.; it corresponds with the following *nominatis*, and is historically accurate.

75, 1 *doctissimique*] AP and Halm. Ruhnken proposed *promptissimique* as more appropriate, and cited, for its use with *ingenium*, Tac. Ann. I. 23, *ob promptum ingenium*. *fortissimique*, Orelli. Kritz and Haase follow AP.

75, 3 *arma minus*] *minus* is the emendation of Vossius for *nus*, MP (omitted in A). Kritz follows Ruhnken in reading *manus* in place of *arma minus*. Ruhnken thought *ma* and *nus* were separated, and by a mistake of the copyist a new word was made, *arma*, and *nus* allowed to remain. Scriner proposes *mariti* before *arma* to correspond with *filium* below. He thinks it might have fallen out very easily before *arma*, which he regards as genuine.

79, 4 *Pompeianae*] Halm after Heinsius; *adversae*, Ruhnken. *hostilis* has also been proposed. Kritz follows MS. reading, and does not supply any word. He thinks the omission due to Velleius' carelessness and not to the fault of the copyist.

80, 2 *interpretaretur auderetque*] proposed by Ruhnken because of *ut* before *inutilis*. Kritz and Halm retain the MS. reading, indic. impf., and follow Grubitz and Haase in regarding it an example of anacoluthon.

81, 2 *coloniae***] Haase supplies *concessi enim veteranis agri, qui civibus coloniae eius relicti erant publici*. Halm prefers *veteranis in agros deductis, qui coloniae eius relicti erant publici*. Each relies upon the authority of Dion Cassius. Either of the proposed readings suggests the probable sense of the passage.

82, 1 *sepelivit in Sicilia bellum*] Halm and Haase after Ruhnken; *Libium in Sicilia Bñ* (*bene*, P), AP. Kritz practically agrees with Ruhnken, but prefers *finivit* to *sepelivit*.

82, 1 *mitis, saeviit*] Halm following Haupt; *militavit*, AP; *mutavit*, Ruhnken; *inclinavit*, Kritz.

82, 4 *succinctus*] Halm, Haase, and AP. Ruhnken proposed *subnixus*, which Kritz adopted, citing in its favor Hor. A. P. 280, *nitique cothurno*.

88, 2 † *pene*] Halm: *pene*, AP; *insigni*, Kritz: *fine*, Heinsius; *specie*, Zumpt. Halm, in a note, proposes *subtemine*, or *mensura*. Scriner's reading, *clavi tunica contentus* is the best yet suggested.

90, 1 *etiam coaluere*] *et coram aliero*, AP. Halm, following Bergk, reads *et coaluere*, but in a note suggests *etiam* as possibly better than *et*. Kritz follows Haase, *ut concordia invaluere. eo curante serio*, Vossius.

90, 1 *annos*] added by Orelli and adopted by Halm, Haase, and Kritz.

91, 1 *iure*] Halm, Haase, and Kritz after Orelli; *viro*, AP. In a note Halm proposes *inlustre* for *illi iure*. Popma conjectured *illi primo*; Ruhnken, *illi vere*; Burmann, *illi vivo*.

91, 4 *abditusque carceri*] Halm and Haase, following AP; *carcere* Krause and Kritz. Acidalius conjectured *addictusque carceri*. Kritz regards the case as abl., even if the form be *carceri*. Neue (I. p. 241) takes *carceri* as genuine, and explains the dat. as a Greek construction, citing Verg. Aen. II. 553, *lateri abdidit ensem*.

92, 2 [*sua*]] Ruhnken followed by Krause omits, taking *praesentia* as an adj. modifying *bona*. The following *suae* certainly makes *sua* doubtful.

92, 2 [*vetere consulum more ac severitate*]] retained by Kritz

and Halm, but regarded as a gloss by Krause and Cludius. It seems better to regard it a gloss, than to think Velleius guilty of repetition and careless writing.

96, 2 *consulari*] Kritz, followed by Halm and Haase; **COSS**, AP; Lipsius proposed *Marco Vinicio*, *avo tuo*, *consule*, and this reading was adopted by Ruhnken, Krause, and others. *consulari* is more accurate historically, than *consule*.

97, 2 *perficit*] Halm and Kritz after Lipsius. *percipit*, AP and Haase.

99, 4 *Rhodum deverterint*] added by Halm to whom it was suggested by Suet. Tib. 12, *nemine cum imperio aut magistratu tendente quoquam, quin deverteret Rhodum.* The reading of AP is *gratia ad quem convenientes;* Kritz and Haase, *ad eum convenientes.*

102, 2 *Gaius*] added by Krause, whom Halm, Haase, Kritz, and Orelli follow; omitted in AP.

105, 1 *gentis eius Arminius*] Halm and Haase after Fr. Jacob (progr. Lubec., 1832); *gentis* (*-tes*, P) *et inamninus* (*inamminus*, MA), AP; *gens utinam minus*, Kritz following Fröhlich. Scriner proposes *ingenti et immani mox nostra clade nobiles.*

105, 2 *ac*] proposed in a note by Halm, but not in his text. *aut desidem*, P and Kritz; *Andesidem*, A.

107, 1 *conatumque*] Halm; *motumque*, MA; *motum*, P; *sub obiectum motumque*, Kritz; *sub omnem molem motumque*, Krause.

109, 1 *corpus suum custodientium imperium*] Halm after Madvig; *corpus suum custodia tum imperium*, AP; *Corpus sui custoditum imperi*, Kritz; *corpus suorum custodia cinctum*, Haase; *corpus saeptum custodia; tum imperium*, Orelli. No one of the many emendations proposed is entirely satisfactory.

109, 1 *lacesseret, et si*] supplied by Rhenanus. *nos lacesseret et superesse*, Kritz.

109, 1 *ostenderet*] omitted in AP; added by Burmann.

109, 5 *nomen est*)] Lipsius added *duceret* because of the preceding *ut*. Lemaire held that *ducere* below rendered it unnecessary. He regarded it as an example of anacoluthon, but thought the meaning clear. Kritz accepts Lemaire's view.

110, 1 *interdum, interdum*] Halm after Heinsius; *iter dum*, A. Ruhnken thinks it unnecessary to repeat the word.

110, 2 *aberat, legionesque quas*] supplied by Haupt, who thus emended a very perplexing passage.

110, 4 *se effuderat*] Halm, Haase, and Kritz, following Ruhnken; *effugerat*, AP.

111, 1 *prompte*] added by Halm; *ex pollicitatione*, Ruhnken. Kritz adopts the reading suggested by Hottinger, *operae. Pollicitati omnia. Haec.*

112, 2 [*hostium*]] P; omitted in A.

112, 3 *instantes*] Acidalius and Kritz. Halm follows AP, *instantem.* The plural accords better with *facientibus;* it gives more uniformity to the construction with *neque . . . neque.*

116, 1 *incultos*] Halm following Heinsius; *multos*, AP and Kritz.

116, 2 [*quibusdam*]] *quibusdam*, AP; bracketed by Haase; *quamquam*, Halm; *quamvis*, Kritz after Bothe.

116, 3 *Aelius Lamia*] Halm, Haase, and Kritz, following Ruhnken; *etiam*, AP.

116, 4 *ne . . . praeferens*] almost hopelessly corrupt. *ne* (*me*, A) *nihil non* (*non* om. P) *optimo civi* (*civis*, A) *simplicissimo duci perisset*, MAP. Halm proposes *nihil non quod viro optimo, civi simplicissimo, duci peritissimo competeret.* Kritz reads (*quem virum ne qui intellexit quidem abunde miratus est, ut nihil non optimo civi, simplicissimo duci perisset*) *praereptus immature et.* Halm follows Orelli in reading *morte.*

117, 1 *ne occupato duce**sed*] *occupato ducem et causa persona*, AP. Of this reading Kritz says: quae aperte ita sunt lacunosa, ut frustra quae exciderunt revocare studeas. Vossius proposes *ne occupato duce in debellandis Pannoniis, victores Germani iis se coniungerent. Sed causa et persona moram exigit.* In supplying these words he follows Suet. Tib. 17, *Nam sub id fere tempus Quintilius Varus cum tribus legionibus in Germania periit; nemine dubitante, quin victores Germani iuncturi se Pannoniis fuerint, nisi debellatum prius Illyricum esset.* Halm thinks *ne occupato duce tanta clades inferretur* sufficient.

119, 2 *aut egrediendi*] Kritz following Haase. *egrediendive*, Halm after Vossius. *egregie*, P; *egredie*, MA; *aut*, MAP. Halm departs from the MS. reading more than is necessary.

122, 2 *expectato*] added by Halm; *voto ocius*, Burmann; *ocius*, P; *totius*, MA.

123, 2 *septuagesimo sexto*] P and Kritz, Haase, Ruhnken. Halm follows A in reading *septuagesimo et sexto.*

125, 4 *ignovit*] *ignave*, AP; *gnave*, Haase; *egit gnave*, Ruhnken. Halm and Kritz follow the Bipontine ed., *ignovit.* Kritz praises this emendation because it departs so little from the MS. reading, and is grammatically and historically correct.

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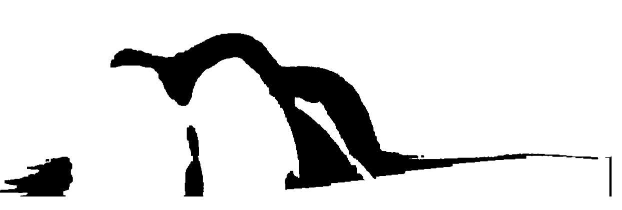
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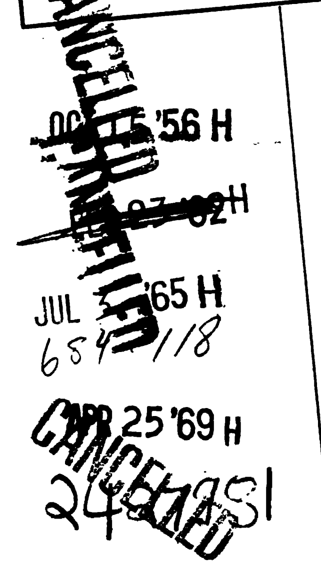
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